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VOLUME XXII

1956

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
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# An Eighteenth Century American Medical Manuscript

*The Clinical Notebook of John Archer, M.B., 1768*

WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR.\*

THE medical notes in manuscript of John Archer, 1768M, recently presented to the University of Pennsylvania Library, are documents which add details and some new facts to our knowledge of the history of medicine in the United States. Kept by a member of the first class of the first medical school in North America, the notes tell a good deal directly and indirectly about the conditions and quality of medical practice and the content of medical education at a time when some American physicians were trying to raise professional standards and establish medical schools in America. Incidentally but specifically, the notes are important to biographers of Dr. John Morgan, 1757C, of Dr. Thomas Bond, and, of course, of John Archer.<sup>1</sup>

Born in what is now Harford County, Maryland, in 1741, John Archer was sent to West Nottingham Academy, where John Morgan and William Shippen, Jr., had preceded him and Benjamin Rush was a fellow student. He was graduated at the College of New Jersey at Princeton in 1760, in the same class with Rush. Young Archer announced an intention of opening an academy in Baltimore. He seems not to have done so, however, and shortly afterward began to study for the ministry. He revealed "such a want of knowledge in divinity & the other particulars he has been examined on, as well as such an incapacity to communicate his ideas on any subject," that the Presbytery rejected him for ordination. In the summer of 1765 Archer came to Philadelphia to study medicine as John Morgan's apprentice.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Morgan had just begun his professional career with an éclat unparalleled in America. Reports of his astonishing academic and social successes in Europe had preceded him to Philadelphia: he had been made a Fellow of the Royal Society

\* Research associate professor of history in the University, and associate editor of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, under the sponsorship of the American Philosophical Society and Yale University.

and of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh and had traveled in Italy with the Duke of York and visited Voltaire at Ferney. Within a few days of his return he was elected Professor of Medicine in the College of Philadelphia. A month later, on May 30, 1765, in a *Discourse on the Institution of Medical Schools in America*, Morgan laid down what he considered a sound program of practice and education. To popular fame Morgan quickly added professional reputation; by late summer he had a practice, and physicians and laymen alike were consulting him by mail in difficult cases.

"I am daily at Dr. Morgan's shop," Archer wrote his fiancée in the winter of 1765-66, "& on Mondays, Wednesdays, & Fridays attend his Lectures [on theory and practice]—the Course is four Pistoles & a Dollar [for the library]. Tuesdays, Thursdays & Saturdays Dr. Shippen's [on anatomy]—the course Six Pistoles." In addition, as Archer's student notes show, he attended Dr. Thomas Bond's clinical lectures at the Pennsylvania Hospital. "I have concluded to remain in Philadelphia," he wrote, "until Spring come a year."

As Morgan's apprentice Archer compounded medicines, accompanied his master on visits to the sick and sometimes attended them alone, and was allowed and encouraged to copy exchanges of letters from Morgan's consulting practice. These exchanges, as well as more formal essays, constitute the bulk of the material in the volume which the Library has now acquired. Written at different times over a two-year period, the folios were bound up to form a kind of clinical casebook. The volume contains upwards of 200 pages. Writing appears on the right-hand leaves, except for a few corrections and additions on left-hand pages.

The case records are all from Morgan's practice in 1766-67. Morgan is certainly the author of "A True Peripneumony," and is probably the author of other essays as well. The questions and answers on physiology are based on Morgan's course, and may have been asked in a public examination. On the other hand, the report of a post-mortem in which a polypus was found in the right ventricle of the heart, is Bond's. Archer himself was the author of an address to a student medical society, which is the last item in the volume.<sup>3</sup>



PORTRAIT OF JOHN ARCHER

By courtesy of The Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of the  
State of Maryland







Not only are the case records interesting in themselves; they throw light on medical practice. John Potts' wife had been troubled for months by irregular menstruation; her husband (who was the father of one of Morgan's pupils) asked Morgan's professional advice. In Fredericksburg, Virginia, Hugh Mercer, whom Morgan knew ten years before when both served in the army on the Pennsylvania frontier, had a patient with a persistent skin tumor. Morgan found the case so puzzling that he submitted it to the Philadelphia Medical Society (which he had founded), and forwarded Mercer their diagnosis and prescriptions—warm baths, ointment, medicines and a regular diet.<sup>4</sup>

Both Morgan's prescriptions in particular cases and his more general essays reveal him as a cautious practitioner, putting his trust in diet, fresh air, and the healing power of the Yellow Springs in Chester County, quite as much as in medicines. "Diet is a Cooperator with Medicine in the Cure of Disease," he declared. "Yet let us not despair," he wrote in a discussion of pulmonary tuberculosis,

softly & easy goes far; *festina lente* is a Motto truly applicable here. No Time is to be lost in the Use of the most bland, safe & efficacious Medicines & they must be resolutely persisted in. A strong Enemy deeply entrenched is in Possession of the Citadel: a violent assault will sooner demolish the City, than compel such an Enemy to surrender. Here we want the City entire, which is easier gained by a steady, resolute & artful Conduct, than by placing all Hopes on a Rash tho' powerful Attack.

In the same spirit Morgan observed to his students

that Nature is the Physician & we only her Assistants, waiting with diligence to embrace her Indications, to strengthen her when weak, to correct her when too violent & even to shew her the most salutary Way when hesitating, that Death may be disappointed *pro tempore* & the Sick restored to health & Vigor again.

Quite as important as what Archer's notes tell of medical practice in eighteenth-century America is what they tell of medical education during the first years the medical department of the College of Philadelphia was in existence. The opportunities for post-mortems, for example, were few; when one presented itself the students seized it.

A certain James Richardson last 7<sup>ber</sup> [September] was suddenly seized with an Asthma, or Difficulty of Breathing, which daily encreased; he was also some Time after taken with a Pleurisy, of which he recovered; but still retained his former Complaint—he became Anasarous in his lower Extremities to a considerable Degree: the upper not being much affected. . . . On the 23d of April [1766] he made Application, & was admitted into the Pennsylvania Hospital under the Care of Dr. Thomas Bond, the then attending Physician, who examined him particular, as to those Symptoms already noted, & what we shall further observe. Upon a further enquiry of his Case he related, that he could not ly on any Side, but the Left & his Back, and in setting up he found the greatest Ease, which was his Posture Day and Night. Further this other Circumstance may be worthy our Notice in accounting for the Phaenomena: he was given to excess in the Use of Spirituous Liquors—*Women & Wine* the two Outlets to Man's Ruin. Again he was observed to evacuate clotted Blood at his Mouth & Nose every Night. . . .

Prognosis—After enquiring into the above particulars Dr. Bond did not hesitate to declare, that he was certain, there was an Obstruction occasioned by a Polypus either in the Heart or Pulmonary Artery.

On Saturday the 26th inst. he died suddenly. From the above Prognosis a Desire of Improvement excited the attending Students to have the Body opened, which was accordingly done. . . .

Then follow the post-mortem findings in detail, with the final statement:

For a more particular Satisfaction of Curiosity & your Improvement I refer you to the Polypus which is deposited in the Pennsylvania Hospital among many other Curiosities equally curious.

Post-mortems such as this enriched the formal curriculum of lectures and demonstrations. So did the exchange of information and opinion in what Archer's notes call "the Hospital Medical Society." This was presumably the first student medical society in North America. Patterned on the student societies at Edinburgh, where Dr. Morgan was a member of the Medical (later Royal Medical) Society, "the Hospital Medical Society" at Philadelphia was composed of students regularly enrolled in Bond's course and, possibly, of apprentices not studying for a degree at the College. Archer may have been the Society's first president. In any event, in January or February 1767 he addressed the members on their purposes and opportunities.<sup>5</sup>

Each Member is by the Rules of this Society to write a Medical Thoesies [sic] in his Turn on any Subject, he thinks himself most capable

to discuss. From this will arise many Advantages, as not only the Tho'ts he has already of the Nature of the Disorder, its Indications and Cure will be regularly arranged; but he will be immediately entred on a careful Scrutiny of the most approved Authors, who have wrote on the Subject, & will consequently adopt the most rational & practical Observations, & imprint them on his Mind. . . . Altho' this advantage may appear to be particularly adapted to one Person; yet when we consider, that all are obliged to write in their Turn, it becomes common—

Again, this Thesis is to be read publicly at our appointed Meeting, which will be a great Advantage to every individual of this Society, as each Thesis will be a theoretico-practical Treatise on the particular Subject he has chosen, whether of Physic or Chirurgery. By this Method we shall be able to discriminate Disorders, their Natures, Indications & Cures. From this we will not only have an Oppertunity to lay up many useful Remarks in our common medical Treasury; but also have many others revived, that were almost sunk in Oblivion.

Another Advantage not less than those already mentioned is our Improvement in Writing on Medical Subjects—There are many Physicians who may be said to understand Disorders & their Treatment; yet are unable to communicate their Sentiments with Perspicuity in writing when required, or necessity obliges them to communicate the Case to any of the Faculty.

Again, should any of us from being Juniors explicate Disorders improperly, or indistinctly point out their Inductions, & an injudicial Method of Treatment from such a collective Body we promise ourselves Mistakes (if any) would not pass Unnoticed; but be observed with friendly Eyes & therefore be rationally rectified.

A few months after he read this address to his fellow-students Archer left Philadelphia to begin practice. He had hoped to practice with an older man in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, but this intention was frustrated. "Therefore," he wrote his wife on April 21, 1767, "I still have the wide world to seek where to pitch my tent." He pitched it in Delaware, first at Hamburg, then at St. George's. His books show that he charged the usual fees (bleeding, 2/6, inoculation, £1, tooth extraction, 2/6, visits 5/— and 1/— a mile for every mile over five, with night calls at 10/—) and that he was sometimes paid, after the custom of rural Delaware, in pork, potatoes, cordwood, even a pair of shoes for his Negro servant.

In the spring of 1767 the Trustees of the College of Philadelphia adopted a plan to award degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of

Medicine. Archer was examined the next year, and qualified for his M.B. Nine other young physicians did likewise. On June 21, 1768, the ten men were graduated Bachelors of Medicine. By accident of alphabet John Archer's name stood first in the list of those who were graduated on what Provost William Smith proudly hailed as "the birthday of Medical honors in America."

Probably it was at this time that Archer was offered, but declined, a partnership with John Morgan in Philadelphia. He stayed in Delaware until 1769 when he returned to Harford County, where he practised more than 40 years until his death. Occasionally during that time he wrote a scientific paper, often on some wonder. Someone brought him a kind of amphibious creature; he stuffed it and sent it with a description to the American Philosophical Society. The men who chased and killed the beast, Archer explained, declared "that it was very active & springy as it did when persued leap five or six Yards on level Ground. Those who killed it thot that it made the most use of its Tail in Leaping."<sup>6</sup> In several medical papers he reported medical marvels, like the case of a woman who, having intercourse with a white man and a Negro successively, gave birth to twins, one white, the other black.<sup>7</sup>

Archer's other papers, based on his practical experience, were less astonishing. Whooping-cough, he reported, could be checked by vaccination. He had success in treating patients with intermittent fevers by dosing them before, rather than after, the attacks. He is said to have devised a method of reducing fractures which Philip Syng Physick independently developed later.<sup>8</sup>

For these things John Archer would be remembered. But his greatest distinction as a physician is that, at the home he built in Harford County and called Medical Hall, he trained about 50 young men in his profession. Four of his six sons became doctors and a fifth was studying medicine under his father when the boy died. At Medical Hall in 1797 Archer formed the Harford County Medical Society. Six of its eight members were Archers. As in the "Hospital Medical Society" 30 years before, each member read in his turn "a dissertation corroborating or confuting some medical opinion which influences the Practice of Physic," or a paper on one of the sciences related to medicine.<sup>9</sup>

John Archer died in 1810. His sons and grandsons who lived in Harford County were physicians, judges, and members of Congress. They inherited Archer's medical memorabilia, and ultimately gave many to the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland (of which John Archer was a founder in 1799). One son went to Mississippi and he inherited the volume of clinical notes his father had made in Philadelphia in 1766-1767. After almost 200 years those notes have now been returned as a gift of the Class of 1916M to the Medical School of whose graduates John Archer was the first and surely not the least useful.

## NOTES

1. The manuscript was presented to the University by the Class of 1916M in honor of their member John G. Archer, of Greenville, Miss., the great-great-grandson of the writer of the medical notes.
2. The principal biographical sketches of John Archer are by "one of his descendants" in the *Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital*, X (1899): 141-47, and by J. Alexis Shriver in the *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association*, XX (1932): 90-101. Archer's medical ledger, 1775-1783, his notes on *Materia Medica* taken in Dr. Adam Kuhn's course, 1767-1768, his arts and medical diplomas, and other memorabilia are preserved in the library of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, Baltimore.
3. The volume contains the following material: An essay on crisis, based on Hippocrates.—Obstruction.—An essay on inflammatory fevers.—A true peripneumony.—A dissertation on a phthisis pulmonalis.—De urinis.—A relation of a polypus in the right ventricle of the heart.—A case of cutaneous eruptive tumors of an infectious nature.—A case.—De usu et abusu concubitus.—A case of an irregular flow of the menses.—A case of obstructed menses.—Directions to be observed in treating the cholic.—A case of uterine haemorrhage.—Questions and answers on physiology.—Address to "the Hospital Medical Society."

Some of these case records were also copied in the notes of one of Archer's classmates, Jonathan Elmer, who names Morgan as the author of "A True Peripneumony," (cf. Elmer, *Miscellanea Medica*, manuscript in the possession of the late Dr. Robert P. Elmer, Wayne, Pa.)

4. Hugh Mercer to John Morgan, May 16, 1767, Dreer Collection, *Generals of the American Revolution*, II: 41, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; same to same, June 22, 1767, University of Virginia.



5. The manuscript is torn. One can read only "Pennsylvania Hospital (. . .)ary 27, 1767.
6. John Archer to Dr. Robert Harris, December 2, 1773. *Ms. Communications*, I:6, American Philosophical Society.
7. "An Inflammation, apparently of the Ovarium, ending in Suppuration, and discharging a living worm and a well shaped tooth. (With the tooth);" and "Facts illustrating a Disease peculiar to the female children of Negro Slaves: and Observations, showing that a white woman by intercourse with a white man and a Negro, may conceive twins, one of which shall be white, and the other a mulatto . . . ," *Medical Repository*, XII (1809):365-66; XIII (1810):319-23.
8. "The Hooping-Cough cured by Vaccination," *ibid.*, XII (1809):182-83; "A Biographical Sketch of John Archer, M.B.," *Medical and Surgical Reporter*, XXII (1870):129-31. See also Archer's "Case of extraordinary recovery from wounded stomach . . . ," communicated by his son to the *Medical Repository*, XV (1812):215-17.
9. The manuscript transactions of the Society are in the library of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, Baltimore. They are commented on by Eugene F. Cordell in the *Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital*, XIII (1902):181-88.

During the American Revolution Archer was politically active in the American cause, and in 1801-1807 he was a member of Congress. Walter W. Preston, *History of Harford County, Maryland*, Baltimore, 1901, pp. 96, 101-102, 106-107, 201; Peter Force, ed., *American Archives*, 4th ser.,IV:737; 5th ser.,II:637.

# Joseph Black, Benjamin Rush and the Teaching of Chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania

WYNDHAM D. MILES\*

THE libraries of the University of Pennsylvania possess a remarkable group of manuscripts and books associated with two important physician-chemists of the 18th century, Joseph Black and Benjamin Rush. Black (1728–1799), Professor of Chemistry at the University of Edinburgh from 1766 until his death, discoverer of latent heat, and, from his quantitative researches on the relationship of chalk, lime and carbon dioxide, one of the catalysts of the “Chemical Revolution,” was the chemical preceptor of Rush during the latter’s visit to Scotland from 1766 to 1768. Rush (1746–1813), aside from his work in medicine, was the author of the first American textual aid on chemistry, writer on the chemistry of gunpowder for the revolutionary army, on the chemistry of mineral water and on quack cancer medicine, teacher of the earliest American course for girls in the chemistry of home economics, and the first professor elected to the first American chair of chemistry, established at the College of Philadelphia in 1769.

Similar in their devotion to medicine and science, Black and Rush were worlds apart in temperament. Black, a perfectionist, published little for fear that his ideas might lead to error. Rush, ever eager to present his views to the public, and at times jealous of priority, turned out a large number of articles, pamphlets and books on a wide variety of subjects which caught his attention. Black recoiled from scientific polemics; Rush was always ready to fight to defend his theories. Black was a bachelor, quiet, unobtrusive, and cursed with ill-health. Rush was married, the father of thirteen children, outspoken, energetic, and blessed with a strong constitution. In scientific stature Black towers high above Rush. His brief but important researches have had permanent

\* Historical Office, United States Army Chemical Corps, Army Chemical Center, Maryland.

value in chemistry and physics, and laid the foundation for much important work. Rush's writings, on the other hand, voluminous as they were, had but a transient, relatively local influence on medicine.

Rush's friendship with Black began in the autumn of 1766 when, after graduating with a B.A. degree from the College of New Jersey and serving as a medical apprentice in Philadelphia, he decided to obtain the M.D. degree at the University of Edinburgh. Before sailing from Philadelphia Rush made plans, on the advice of John Morgan, the founder of the Medical School of the College of Philadelphia, to study chemistry under Black in the hope of being elected to a projected chair of chemistry in the new Medical School upon his return home. He therefore attended Black's course twice, studied the Scot's system of chemistry diligently, visited chemical factories in England after leaving Edinburgh, and returned to Philadelphia confident that he was qualified to teach chemistry.

Shortly after his arrival he asked the trustees of the College to consider him as a candidate for a professorship of chemistry. The trustees, influenced by Morgan and other physicians, and by the recommendations presented by Rush, including one from Thomas Penn, the Proprietor of the Province of Pennsylvania, created a chair of chemistry for the young man.<sup>1</sup> At this time Rush was only 24 years old and had no experience with chemistry outside of that which he had acquired under Black. Quite naturally he turned to his Edinburgh lecture notes and transmitted Black's course to his pupils. This can be proved beyond doubt by a comparison of the notebooks of Rush's students and the editions of Rush's *Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on Chemistry* with Black's *Lectures on the Elements of Chemistry*. The deviations of Rush's lectures from Black's are minor and are easily and reasonably explained.

For twenty years, until his resignation from the professorship of chemistry in 1789 when he accepted a professorship of medicine, Rush continued to teach Black's system of chemistry. During this period he introduced chemistry to more young men than any other American teacher up to this time, and perhaps more than any other American teacher in the 18th century. By good fortune



the manuscript lecture notes of five of Rush's students have escaped the attrition of time and four of these now rest in the University Library.<sup>2</sup> These notes cover the later half of Rush's chemical career, following the American Revolution. The earliest manuscript at Pennsylvania was written in 1783-1784 by an unknown student. The notes, which cover approximately 122 pages, are rather brief and sketchy and leave the impression that they were hastily jotted down while Rush lectured. This is in contrast to the other manuscripts which seem to have been written, or perhaps copied, at leisure. The second set of notes, the most complete of the series, covers about 350 pages and was written by a student who also remains unidentified. This manuscript, now in the Smith Memorial Collection, was written, as internal evidence shows, no earlier than 1785. The third manuscript, now in the Rare Book Collection, was compiled by Moses Bartram (A.B., 1782; A.M., 1785; B.M., 1786; M.D., 1790) who attended Rush's lectures in the winter of 1785-1786. The latest manuscript, which covers only about 20 percent of Rush's entire course, was copied by James Graham who graduated in 1791 and therefore probably attended Rush's last course in chemistry. The text of the Graham and of the 1785 manuscript is identical, which indicates that they were written by professional copyists or that students copied from each other. All of the manuscripts are similar, indicating that Rush changed his course but little during his tenure of twenty years, probably because his other activities left him too little time to keep abreast of the rapidly changing science.<sup>3</sup>

While Rush was carrying on his duties as professor of chemistry, Black, because of ill-health and his aversion to publication, did not put his lectures into printed form.<sup>4</sup> Rush, therefore, could not refer his students to a text of the master, but he could help them in obtaining an over-all view of the course by drawing up an outline which he had published in 1770 under the title, *Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on Chemistry*.<sup>5</sup>

This *Syllabus*, although not compiled by Black and not bearing his name, was the first printed record of the Scottish chemist's course. Two later editions were brought out by Rush, one undated, but presumably published in the 1770's, under the title,

*A Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on Chemistry, for the Use of the Students of Medicine*, printed by Robert Aitken, and one in 1783 under practically the same title, printed by Charles Cist. Four copies of the *Syllabus* are known to be in existence; two are dated 1770, one is undated, and one is dated 1783. The University Library is fortunate in having two of the four copies, one of the 1770 edition and the undated edition.<sup>6</sup>

During Black's life chemistry students at Edinburgh did not have the advantage of a text written by their professor, but had to jot down notes during lectures or purchase a manuscript copy of the lectures from a professional copyist. The Smith Memorial Collection in the History of Chemistry at the University has a manuscript lecture notebook which once belonged to a student who attended Dr. Black's course. After Black's death in 1799, however, special circumstances led to the publication of his system of chemistry. A rumor circulated around Edinburgh and came to the ears of the executors of the estate that an unauthorized edition of the lectures based on students' notes was being planned. To forestall this move the executors requested John Robison, Black's student, friend, and colleague, to prepare Black's notes for publication. Robison began his task in 1800. Three years later his two-volume quarto edition of the *Lectures on the Elements of Chemistry, Delivered in the University of Edinburgh, by the late Joseph Black, M.D.* was published in London and Edinburgh.

By this time, however, the value of Black's lectures had considerably diminished. A revolution in chemistry, brought on by the work of Joseph Priestley, Antoine Lavoisier, and Black himself, had taken place during the final quarter of the 18th century. The old empirical notions of chemistry had been swept away and a new, permanent foundation which promoted the growth of the factual and theoretical sides of the science had been laid. Black had considered the new chemistry thoroughly before adopting its principles, and he had not agreed with the arrangement of subject matter or the approach advocated by Lavoisier and other leading proponents. Consequently his manuscripts retained the factual empirical arrangement of a half century before. Valuable as his course had been in the 1760's, 1770's and 1780's, the *Lectures* were now superseded by the recent, authentic texts of Lavoisier,

Chaptal, and others. These newer texts were readily available to college classes, both as imports and American reprints.

Yet, despite the obsolescence of the *Lectures*, the reputation of Black in America, due in large measure to the many American graduates of the Edinburgh medical school, was such that Mathew Carey of Philadelphia risked reprinting the work as a three-volume octavo set in 1806-1807. Thus the text which would have been used by students in the College of Philadelphia, and at other colleges where Black's pupils taught, finally became available after it was outmoded. Among the subscribers to the set was Benjamin Rush, now divorced from the chair of chemistry for seventeen years; but significantly James Woodhouse, now the Professor of Chemistry in Philadelphia and a sturdy defender of the new system, neither subscribed to the *Lectures* nor adopted it for his classes.

Aside from the intrinsic scientific interest of Black's *Lectures*, Carey's Philadelphia reprint has raised an interesting bibliographical problem which for many years has puzzled collectors of scientific Americana. The title-page of volume I, the portrait of Black facing the title-page, and the engravings of apparatus are all dated 1807; the title-pages of volumes II and III are dated 1806. Volume I would appear to have been printed after volumes II and III. If this was so, what were the circumstances which led Carey to publish volume I last? And if it was not so, why does volume I bear a later date?

In answer to the first question, there is no satisfactory reason, either scientific or bibliographical, that would explain why volume I should have been printed last. On the contrary, all of the evidence, including a careful examination of the text, the signatures, gatherings and index, and a comparison of the reprint with the British original, indicates that the three volumes of the set were printed in the proper order. This brings us to the second question, the cause of the anomalous date. The answer which I offer to explain this puzzle is simple yet entirely adequate. Graves, the printer, began setting type for the *Lectures* late in 1806 but the job was not completed until early in 1807. Carey, desiring the work to appear up-to-date, ordered Graves to cancel the 1806 title-page in volume I and replace it by a new title-page dated

1807. At the same time Carey took the opportunity to add a new leaf carrying testimonials in favor of the *Lectures* and two leaves describing the illustrations. In other words, the 1806 title-page was replaced by a four-leaf gathering, the first leaf of which bore testimonials, the second leaf the new title-page, and the third and fourth leaves a description of the engravings. This reasoning may be confirmed by conclusive evidence.

On January 21 and 28, 1807, the following advertisement appeared in *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*:

BLACK'S LECTURES  
proposals  
for publishing by subscription  
By Mathew Carey,  
No. 122, Market-street,  
Lectures  
on the  
Elements of Chemistry  
By Joseph Black, M.D.  
Professor of Chemistry in the University of Edinburgh  
First American Edition,  
with plates.  
The London Edition, from which this is printing,  
was published by the Executors of Dr. Black,  
from his own Manuscript, under the direc-  
tion of John Robinson [*sic*], LL.D. Pro-  
fessor of Natural Philosophy, at  
Edinburgh.  
In three volumes octavo.

Terms.

- I. This first American edition of Black's Lectures, will be comprised in three volumes octavo. It shall be printed on a handsome wove paper, and a new type. It will be published about the first of February.
- II. The price to Subscribers, seven dollars, bound, payable on delivery—To non-subscribers, the price will be eight dollars.
- III. The work is printing from the London edition, the only one yet published, which makes two very large quarto volumes, and has been sold here for twenty six dollars.

IV. Those who obtain ten subscribers, and become responsible for the payment, shall receive one copy gratis.

V. Subscribers' names, received before the 28th of January, shall be published.

On the 30th a notice giving further information was published in the *Aurora for the Country*:

Black's  
LECTURES ON CHEMISTRY.

M. Carey  
No. 122, Market Street

INFORMS the public, that the subscription for this valuable work at seven dollars, will be closed on Friday, the 6th of February.

It will be published on Monday the 9th February at 8 dollars to non-subscribers

The high estimation in which we hold the Lectures of Dr. Black, induces us cordially to recommend them to the friends of chemical science.

Declining any invidious discussions or comparisons respecting the discoveries of their illustrious author, with some fancifully ascribed to earlier chemists, or arrogated by his contemporaries—we believe that lucid arrangement, strength of argument, and excellence of experimental illustration, render them more instructive to the student and more gratifying to the proficient than most other publications in that department of physical enquiry.

James Reynolds, M.D.  
Adam Seybert, M.D.  
B. S. Barton, M.D.<sup>7</sup>

Philadelphia, Dec. 13th, 1806.

Finally in an advertisement dated February 13, which appeared the following day in *Poulson's Advertiser*,<sup>8</sup> Carey announced that



the *Lectures* were ready for sale and warned subscribers not to procrastinate:

This day is published  
By M. Carey, No. 122 Market Street  
(Price to non-subscribers eight dollars,)   
Lectures  
On the Elements of Chemistry.  
By Joseph Black, M.D.  
Professor of Chemistry in the University of Edinburgh, 3 vols. 8.00.

*[then follows the recommendation of Reynolds, Seybert  
and Barton, used in the earlier advertisement.]*

Subscribers, who do not apply for the Books  
within two months, will be considered as  
relinquishing their claims to the work at  
subscription price.

These advertisements prove that the printing of the *Lectures* was completed so early in 1807 that it must have been started in 1806, i.e., the date on the title-pages of volumes II and III.

Evidence of the cancellation of the original title-page of volume I may be found in a copy in the Smith Memorial Collection where the stub of the first leaf in the second signature (originally the first signature) is present. Furthermore, evidence that a new signature was bound at the front of the volume may be found by an examination of the signatures and gatherings. Signature A in volumes II and III starts with the title-page, which is usual in reprints, and contains four leaves. The remaining signatures are in order and the gatherings are bound in 4's. In volume I signature A (the letter A, incidentally, is a larger capital than the letters in the succeeding signatures) also contains four leaves with normal conjugation, but is followed by an incomplete signature of three leaves. This incomplete signature I believe to have been the original first signature of volume I. The remaining signatures, B to 3L, are in order and are bound in 4's.

Additional proof of the insertion of a new gathering of four leaves comes from the pagination. In volumes II and III, Graves began numbering with the title-page and continued on through the book. By analogy, in volume I the original title-page would

have been numbered i and ii; leaf two numbered iii and iv; leaf three numbered v and vi; and leaf four, vii and viii. In examining volume I we find that leaf five, which we believe was the original leaf two, is numbered on the verso [p.] iv; that leaf six, our original leaf three, is numbered on the verso [p.] vi; that leaf seven, our original leaf four, is numbered vii and viii. Our hypothesis is verified.

All of the evidence which we have presented indicates that volume I was originally dated 1806, the same as the later volumes, and that early in 1807 Carey, to make the work appear up-to-date, cancelled the title-page and inserted a title-page dated 1807. It is possible that a copy of Carey's reprint bearing the original title-page may, through inadvertence of the binder, still be in existence. I have examined several sets of the *Lectures* in search of this title-page but, so far, without success.

Judging from the names of booksellers and individual buyers in the list of subscribers, which is sometimes bound in volume I, sometimes in volume III, Carey's reprint sold as far north as Boston, as far west as Louisville, and as far south as Charleston. In my opinion the wide distribution was due to a feeling of sentiment among Edinburgh alumni and among the students of such Edinburgh men as Rush, rather than to any value the book may have had as a text. In support of this belief is the fact that a second edition was never attempted by Carey. American chemists, with their homage paid to a genius, scholar and gentleman, turned to the modern, more useful texts of Chaptal, Lavoisier, Henry and Thomson, and relegated Black to the back of the book shelf and finally to the attic.

## NOTES

1. The story of Rush's career as a chemist may be found in Wyndham Miles, "Benjamin Rush, Chemist," *Chymia* IV (1953):37-77.
2. The fifth manuscript, written in 1771 by F. Alison, is in the library of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia. Alison received the M.A. degree from the College of Philadelphia in 1773.
3. The student manuscripts are discussed further in W. Miles, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-54.

4. These reasons are given by Robison in his edition of Black's *Lectures*. See the Philadelphia reprint, vol. I, p. xlvi.
5. An excellent facsimile of this 1770 edition was issued in 1954 by the Friends of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.
6. The second 1770 edition is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The 1783 edition is in the library of the American Philosophical Society.
7. This testimonial was also placed on the verso of the preliminary leaf (Sign. Alv) of volume I of the *Lectures*. See also reference 8.
8. This advertisement also appeared in the *Advertiser* for March 7 and 14. A modification appeared in the *Advertiser*, 28 February, and in *Relf's Philadelphia Gazette*, 25 February, with the following names added to the testimonial: James S. Stringham, Professor of Chemistry, Columbia; David Hosack, Professor of Materia Medica and Botany, Columbia; William Hammersley, M.D., Edward Miller, M.D., and John R. B. Rodgers, M.D., all of New York.
9. The signatures are: volume I, A<sup>7</sup>, B-4L<sup>4</sup>; volume II, A-3H<sup>4</sup>, 3I<sup>2</sup>; volume III, A-3M<sup>4</sup>, 3N<sup>2</sup>.



# The Development of the Catalogue of the University of Pennsylvania Library

ELEANOR DEVLIN\*

THE earliest catalogue of the University of Pennsylvania Library was in book form, entitled *Catalogue of Books, Belonging to the Library of the University of Pennsylvania*, and printed in 1829. No later printed catalogue exists; however, various references in the Minutes of the Trustees of the University indicate that a catalogue was maintained through the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> It was probably a hand written record in book, or loose-leaf arrangement.

In 1883-84, the Librarian began a hand written card catalogue, which was to "embrace in a single alphabet, references under author, title and subject, to the entire contents of the Library."<sup>2</sup> The books were classified by the Dewey Decimal Classification.<sup>3</sup> This catalogue was installed in the new building when it was opened in 1891 and the methods of cataloguing which were begun in the 1880's were continued until 1898.<sup>4</sup> The original plan for a dictionary catalogue was changed to that of a divided catalogue with the cards in one section arranged alphabetically under the name of the author (or other form of main entry), and the cards in the other section arranged by subject matter.<sup>5</sup> Some few cards from this period are still extant.

As the book collection continued to grow, the system of cataloguing and classifying was found to be inadequate and the Library administration decided on a complete revision of the catalogue and a substantial modification of the classification.<sup>6</sup> The work of revision was begun in the summer of 1898 and the bulk of recataloguing and reclassifying was completed by 1900,<sup>7</sup> although it was not until 1907 that the co-ordination of all subject headings and the making of all necessary cross references marked the end of the period of the great revision.<sup>8</sup> For the two years of the "big push" several additional cataloguers and clerical workers joined the staff.<sup>9</sup> Members of the faculty contributed their

\* Until recently University of Pennsylvania Library, now Ohio University Library.

special knowledge to assist the cataloguers in the establishing of entries, the assigning of proper classification numbers, and subject headings.<sup>10</sup> The old divided catalogue was refiled as a dictionary catalogue with main entries and subject entries interfiled in one alphabet. As the new cards were prepared they replaced the old ones in the catalogue.<sup>11</sup> It was a thorough and painstaking procedure and the finished result was the solid foundation of the present catalogue.

As a catalogue it had its excellencies. The structure was basically sound, the majority of the cards were true indications of the works described and contained all the necessary information for the reader. It was a system suited to a growing collection, its rules provided for all types of material, and all its entries conformed to the pattern traced in its rules. However, it had one serious fault: an overemphasis on consistency and thoroughness which resulted in a highly involved and convoluted system of cataloguing. This made little difference in the ordinary cataloguing of monographic works and works by one author, since material of this kind poses no particular problems, but other types of publications were not so easily dealt with. The Library's collections contained hundreds of publications of our own and of foreign governments, publications of learned societies, scholarly journals and series, collections of pamphlets, variant editions of the great writers of the past and present. All these required careful and consistent treatment; this was accorded them, but when a complicated method of cataloguing was applied to such complex material the entries sagged under their own weight. Such practices as the double analytic entry,<sup>12</sup> the dash entry, double subject tracing for analyzed sets and ambiguous tracing done by underlining on the face of the card, produced cards which contained all the information, but in a form confusing to the user, and detrimental to the output of the cataloguers. As the catalogue grew in size, its ponderousness increased accordingly.

There was one other glaring fault in the catalogue; this, I fear, was due not to fallacies of the system but to the fallibility of cataloguers. There was evidently not enough utilization of expert knowledge; thus we meet many examples in the catalogue of books ascribed to the wrong author,<sup>13</sup> identical persons entered

under two different forms of their names, variant titles of the same work treated as if they were different texts, and works (usually in foreign languages) with erroneous subjects. When the Cataloguing Department moved to new quarters out of earshot of the readers, the cataloguers began to produce typewritten cards, thus reducing the hazard of incorrect copying and increasing the readability of the cards.<sup>14</sup>

The Library followed this system of cataloguing until the late 1920's, a period of about thirty years. During this time the book collection and the catalogue grew considerably and certain sections under various main entries and subject headings became rather confusing. In retrospect it appears that much of this confusion arose from the lack of consistent editing and from the inter-filing of ambiguous or wrong entries with little attempt to relate them to items already represented in the public catalogue. The cards still showed a painstaking adherence to the rules, but knowledge and judgment were lacking in their application. The Library administration decided that steps must be taken to improve the catalogue; methods must be revised and the output of the Cataloguing Department increased.<sup>15</sup> It was decided to adopt the Library of Congress method of cataloguing and to buy printed cards from the Library of Congress for use in the catalogue of the University Library. Unfortunately this decision plunged the catalogue into chaos.

There were good reasons for advocating a change to Library of Congress cards and cataloguing procedures. At that time the importance of the Library of Congress as the model for large scholarly American libraries was widely discussed in library circles. Library of Congress cards were available for purchase and its list of subject headings and its classification schedules could be secured and used by other libraries. The advantages of uniformity of cataloguing practice among large scholarly libraries were obvious and desirable. Such uniformity would make the use of catalogues in various libraries easier for the scholar. The purchase of the Library of Congress cards would give every library the benefit of the skills and knowledge of the Library of Congress cataloguers. It would, therefore, compensate for the deficiencies of the cataloguers of the University Library, reduce the amount of time

spent by them in establishing correct entries and subject headings, and introduce a more "streamlined" and less complicated method of cataloguing.

However, the rules for main entry and subject heading according to the University Library's system of cataloguing were very different from those of the Library of Congress. The University Library administration, in arriving at the decision to make use of the skills and techniques provided by the Library of Congress, could have chosen one of two possible solutions. It could have revised and simplified the University Library's method of cataloguing, following Library of Congress practice where it could be adapted, and securing information identifying authors and subject matter from the Library of Congress Depository Card Catalogue at the University Library. This method would have been a slow process allowing for gradual modification within practical limitations. The alternative was to recatalogue the entire book collection according to the Library of Congress cataloguing practice, buying Library of Congress printed cards for that purpose. The administration tried to do a little of both. The evidence in the catalogue itself shows that they proposed to buy Library of Congress cards immediately for the new cataloguing and eventually as replacements of old cards, and to interfile the new Library of Congress cards with the old cards already in the catalogue.<sup>16</sup> In their eagerness to purchase Library of Congress cards, the administration either failed to realize, or chose to ignore, the extent of the differences between the two systems and the amount of time and personnel which would be needed to effect a successful amalgamation. An attempt was made to force the new Library of Congress cards into the old pattern, or, as time went on, the old cards into the Library of Congress pattern,<sup>17</sup> by weird systems of crossing out and numbering parts of headings on the catalogue cards. The old University Library main entries,<sup>18</sup> and subject headings<sup>19</sup> would not interfile with the Library of Congress headings; filing in the public catalogue became a nightmare. Clearly then this somewhat arbitrary and ill-advised introduction of Library of Congress cards into a catalogue which had been growing for thirty years on another principle precipitated the chaos. The task of co-ordinating the divergent entries was too

great for the existing staff of cataloguers to accomplish. For twenty years everybody struggled, achieving the increased production in the Cataloguing Department that the administration had hoped for, but with dire effects on the final object, a workable catalogue for the users of the University Libraries.

In 1947 the sad state of the catalogue was finally faced. It was by then too late to discuss the pros and cons of the old University Library entries versus Library of Congress entries and impractical to throw both systems away and start out all over again with a third system. The history of the past eight years is an attempt at gradual co-ordination of discrepancies. Library of Congress practice in cataloguing and subject heading is generally accepted as the basis. Procedures in the Cataloguing Department emphasize the necessity of following consistent patterns. Unco-ordinated entries no longer go into the public catalogue and discordant elements are recognized and suffered only as necessary evils. The process of reconciling these elements is inevitably slow; the problems are multifold and involve attention to large sections of the catalogue. Cataloguers are faced constantly with the problem of how much correction and co-ordination of old entries they can undertake without dangerously retarding the cataloguing of current accessions. Decisions are further complicated by the fact that correction and co-ordination of older cards is often inevitable in order to prepare useful records of current accessions. Improvements have been achieved in sections of the catalogue which are more nearly self-contained. Some of the worst problems remain untouched, because they involve too many interlocking elements and must be considered major projects. We may say that the catalogue is now much more usable than it was ten years ago. If this statement seems a feeble accolade, at least it possesses the virtues of truth to the facts and hope for the continuing improvement of the catalogue.

#### NOTES

1. Gregory B. Keen, [*Extracts from Minutes of the Trustees . . . 1749-1882, in Regard to the Establishment and Maintenance of the Library*]. Ms.
2. University of Pennsylvania, *Catalogue and Announcements*, 1885-86. Philadelphia, 1885, p. 159.



3. *Proceedings at the Opening of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania, 7th of February 1891*. Philadelphia, 1891, p. 7.
4. University of Pennsylvania, *Librarian's Report, 1898-99*, p. 5.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Loc. cit.*
7. Morris Jastrow, *Librarian's Report to the Trustees Library Committee*, Nov. 2nd, 1899. Ms.
8. Morris Jastrow, *Librarian's Report to the Trustees Library Committee*, Jan. 30th, 1907. Ms.
9. University of Pennsylvania, *Librarian's Report, 1898-99*, p. 6.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
12. Appendix, example 1.
13. Appendix, example 2.
14. A. D. Dickinson, *Librarian's Report to the Trustees Library Committee*, October 9th, 1919. Ms.
15. A. D. Dickinson, [*Statistics on cataloguing in the University of Pennsylvania Library, June 13, 1927*]. Ms.
16. Cataloguing Department *Filing Rules*. Typescript.
17. Appendix, example 3.
18. Appendix, example 3.
19. Appendix, example 4.

# Appendix

378.447 Thomas, Antoine.

PM Préface. Lin Daurzat,  
 Y.4 Albert. Etudes linguistiques  
 Gen. Lib. sur la basse Auvergne, phon.  
 --- étic historique du patois de  
 --- Vinzelles (Puy-de-Dôme. Lin  
 --- Paris-Université de. Biblio  
 --- thèque de la Faculté des  
 --- lettres de Paris. 1896-'98. v.4.)

For criticism of

..... Merges, Jean de

3447 B. a

M582 Notice sur Jean de Mer  
 ges et sur ses Mémoires  
 par Merges, Jean de  
 Mémoires ( ) Lin  
 Michaud, J. & Poujoulat,  
 J. & eds Nouvelle collec-  
 tion des mémoires  
 see next card

For criticism of

944D pour servir à l'histoire  
 M582 de France 1226-1229  
 Ser. 1, v.9  
 Ser. 1, v.9, p. 557-558.)

EXAMPLE 1 DOUBLE ANALYTICS

341.3 International naval conference,  
 In83 1908-09.  
 Correspondence & documents...  
 IV+106 p. F. Lond. Harrison.  
 n. d.  
 Miscellaneous, no. 4, 1909.

WRONG AUTHOR  
 ENTRY. CATALOGUED  
 CA. 1909

CORRECT ENTRY.  
 RECATALOGUED 1955

341.3 GREAT BRITAIN. Foreign office.  
 In83 ... Correspondence and documents respecting  
 the International naval conference, held in  
 London, December 1908-February 1909. Present-  
 ed to both houses of Parliament by command of  
 His Majesty. March 1909. London, Printed for  
 H. M. Stationary off., by Harrison and sons  
 [1909]  
 iv, 106p. 33cm. (Miscellaneous. no. 4,  
 1909)  
 Parliament. Papers by command. Cd. 4554.

EXAMPLE 2



912.748 Pennsylvania Internal  
 P38 affairs, Dept. of  
 Railroad map of Penn-  
 sylvania compiled by J.  
 Sutton Wall 8°  
 n.p. 1890..  
 Folding map.  
 385.731  
 P3841

UNIVERSITY  
 LIBRARY MAIN  
 ENTRY

UNIVERSITY  
 LIBRARY "PATCHED-  
 UP" MAIN ENTRY

328.731 Pennsylvania <sup>Dept. of</sup> Internal affairs,  
 P85 ~~Department of~~  
 Annual report, 1860-1902,  
 1905-10, 11-16<sup>1-2, 4</sup>, 17<sup>1-2, 4</sup>, 1924, (general  
 report)  
 8°  
 Harrisburg, 1860-1924

974.8D  
 P3812

Pennsylvania. Dept. of internal affairs.

Extract from the Annual report of the secretary of internal affairs of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for the year ending November 30, 1883; containing: final report of the re-survey of the Ohio line; reports of progress of the re-survey of the New York and West Virginia line; report of the geodetic triangulation in Pennsylvania, and description of methods for determining a true meridian. Harrisburg, L. S. Hart, state printer, 1884.

79 p. incl. tables, plates, charts (part fold.) 241".  
 1. Pennsylvania—Bound.—Ohio. 2. Ohio—Bound.—Pennsylvania. 3.  
 Pennsylvania—Bound.—New York (State) 4. New York  
 (State)—Bound.—Penn- sylvania. 5. Pennsylvania—Bound.—  
 West Virginia. 6. West Virginia—Bound.—Pennsylvania. 7.  
 Triangulation. I. Title.  
 Library of Congress

21-2804

LIBRARY OF  
 CONGRESS MAIN  
 ENTRY

EXAMPLE 3

437.3 L964.3	German (low) language - Grammar <u>Siebben</u> , H. A. Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik nebst Chrestomathie und Glossar. VIII+2, +221 p. 8° Spz. Weigel, 1882.
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UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY SUBJECT  
HEADING

LIBRARY OF  
CONGRESS  
SUBJECT  
HEADING

430.8 L977 v. 2, 4	Low German language - Grammar. <b>Dahlberg, Torsten, 1906-</b> Die mundart von Dorste; studien über die niederdeutschen mundarten an der oberen Leine (das sog. göttingisch-gruben- hagensche dialektgebiet) ... Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup; etc., etc., 1924-37; 2 v. illus., maps. 24°. (On cover: Lunder germanistische forschun- gen, hrsg. von Erik Rooth. 2, 4) Vol. 1 is the author's thesis, Lund. Vol. 2 issued as Lunds universitets årsskrift, n. f., avd. 1, bd. 32, nr. 2. Vol. 2 has general half-title and special t.p.; without general t.p. Some of the maps in pocket. (Continued on next card) r43c2 37-10894 Revised
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EXAMPLE 4

# Johann Draconites (1494–1566)

LYMAN RILEY\*

**J**OHANN DRACH, or Trach, began his career as a classicist and philologist but was soon swept up by the Lutheran movement and spent the rest of his life as a preacher, professor of theology, and Biblical scholar.<sup>1</sup> He was at first called Carlstadt after the place of his birth but is now more commonly known by the name he adopted in 1532, Johann Draconites. He studied at the universities of Erfurt and Wittenberg; at the latter institution he devoted his efforts to learning Hebrew. At Erfurt he associated himself with a group of German humanists who followed the lead of Eobanus Hessus; he remained friendly with Hessus and delivered his funeral oration in 1540. His first published work, in 1517, was a collection of Aesop's fables.

Draconites became pastor at Miltenberg in 1522. Within a year his Lutheranism had brought about his excommunication and expulsion from the town. He had, however, attracted a considerable number of supporters during his brief stay and for some time kept in touch with them through a series of epistles.<sup>2</sup>

For the rest of his life Draconites wandered from place to place, never able to find a home for very long. He spent varying periods of time as pastor or professor at Nuremberg, Erfurt, Wittenberg, Marburg, Regensburg, Lübeck, and Rostock. He seemed unable to stay out of controversy, whether of a theological or a practical, administrative nature. The last half-dozen years of his life were spent in comparative peace at Wittenberg.

His *magnum opus* was a polyglot Bible. He worked on it for over 30 years but at the time of his death only parts of a few Old Testament books had been published.<sup>3</sup> Draconites, who had long been interested in Messianism, had all the Messianic passages of his *Biblia Pentapla* printed in red. The printing difficulties that this entailed help explain the slowness with which the work appeared.

We list here the works of Draconites now in the University of Pennsylvania Library; all were acquired within the last three

\* University of Pennsylvania Library.

years. Most of the items are sermons delivered during the period of his residence in Marburg, Lübeck and Rostock, *i.e.* 1545–1555. The sermons are in folio; many of them contain woodcuts. The titles in the list have been kept short but no changes have been made in spelling or capitalization. We believe that this collection deserves attention as source material for the study of an interesting but little-known German reformer and also for its linguistic and literary value.



## CATALOGUE

1. Epistel an die Gemeyne zu Miltenberg. [Nuremberg? 1523?] Woodcut title border. Kuczynski 426.
2. Eyn Christlicher Sendebrieff an die Miltenberger. Wittenberg, [N. Schirlenz], 1524. Woodcut title border. Weller, *Repertorium* 2833.
3. Ain Christlicher Sendbrieff an die Miltenberger [reprint of 2]. [Augsburg, P. Ulhart, 1524]. Woodcut title border. Schottenloher, *Philipp Ulhart* 83.
4. Vom Breutgam Iesu Christo. [Hamburg, J. Löw, 1549?]
5. Von dem Konig Den alle könige anbetten werden: Iesu Christo. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1549.
6. Von dem Zweige Des Hern: Iesu Christo. [Lübeck, J. Balhorn, 1549?]

7. Von der Sindflut Vnd dem Casten Noah. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1549.
8. Von der Sonnen Der Gerechtigkeith: Iesu Christi. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1549.
9. Vom Schuldopffer Vnd Danckopffer. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1549.
10. Eine Oster Predigt Von der Aufferstehung: Iesu Christi. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
11. Eine Predigt von des Weibes Samen. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
12. Vom Durchbrecher Iesu Christo. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
13. Vom Ewigen Feuer des Altars. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
14. Vom König David Iesu Christo. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
15. Vom Starcken Heiland: Iesu Christo. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
16. Vom Streitbarn Helden Gideon. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
17. Vom Werckmeister Iesu Christo. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
18. Von dem Erlöser Der Gefangen Zion. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
19. Von dem Fels Iesu Christo. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
20. Von dem Geist Der gnaden vnd des gebettes: Iesu Christi. [Lübeck, J. Balhorn], 1550.
21. Von dem guten Hirten: Das Euangelion Ioan. x. Am andern Sontage nach Ostern geprediget. [Lübeck, J. Balhorn, 1550].
22. Von dem Heiligen Vnter Dir: Iesu Christo. [Lübeck], 1550.
23. Von dem Knecht Gottes David aller einigen König Hirtten vnd Ewigen Fürsten. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
24. Von dem König Vber Alle Land: Iesu Christi. [And: Eine Dreifaltige Predigt Des Engel Gabriels]. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
25. Von dem Man Der Linwad anhat vnd einen Schreibzeug an der seitten. [Lübeck, 1550?]
26. Von dem Newen Testament Gottes. [Lübeck, J. Balhorn, 1550?]
27. Von dem Schild David Christi aller Christen. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
28. Von dem Stein On hende vom Berge gerissen: Iesu Christo. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
29. Von den Heilanden Der Prophet Obadia. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.

30. Von den Newen Himel vnd Erden. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
31. Von der Auffart Iesu Christi. [Lübeck, J. Balhorn, 1550].
32. Von der Iüden Fürsten Vnd Hern: Iesu Christo. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
33. Von der Stat Vnsers Gottes. [Lübeck, J. Balhorn, 1550?]
34. Von der Weihe Aarons vnd seiner Söne. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
35. Von des Menschen Sone: Iesu Christo. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
36. Von ewerm Gott Iesu Christo. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1550.
37. Vom einigen Hirtten Iesu Christo. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1551.
38. Vom hern Zebaoth Des alle land voll sind: Iesu Christo. [Lubeck, G. Richolff], 1551.
39. Von dem Richter Vnter allen völcckern: Iesu Christo. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1551.
40. Von der Eherne Schlangen die Mose auffricht Zum Für Bild des Creützes Iesu Christi. [Lübeck, G. Richolff], 1551.
41. Von deinem Man Vnd Hern Iesu Christo. [Rostock, 1552].
42. Vom Gnedigen Wortt vnsers Gottes. [Rostock, Dietz, 1552?]
43. Vom Menschen Der odem in der nasen hat: Iesu Christo. [Rostock, 1552].
44. Vom Gerechten den aller welt ende loben: Iesu Christo. [Rostock, 1554].
45. Von dem Stuel Im Himel darauff einer sitzt Gestalt wie ein mensch. [Rostock, 1555].

## NOTES

1. The only full-length study of Draconites is that by Georg Theodor Strobel, *D. Johann Draconites nach seinem Leben und nach seinen Schriften beschrieben*, Nuremberg, 1793. A fairly extensive discussion of his life and writings is contained in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, v. 27 (1836), pp. 299–305.
2. See numbers 1–3 in the Catalogue.
3. Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture*, no. 1420.



# The Reopening of the Edgar Fahs Smith Memorial Collection in the History of Chemistry

CONWAY ZIRKLE\*

**T**HE Edgar Fahs Smith Memorial Collection is described technically as follows:

Collection: History of alchemy and chemistry, also allied subjects such as physics and medicine. Books dating from 1480. Collection contains many alchemical and chemical manuscripts and many portrait-prints and medals of chemists and chemical apparatus. History of University of Pennsylvania and early American history. Small collection of early American stipple engravings. Books and bound periodicals 7,800.

This world-famous collection stems from the library assembled by Professor Edgar Fahs Smith (1854–1928); it was presented by his widow to the University of Pennsylvania. Other collections have since been added, notably the library of Dr. Walter T. Taggart. In 1945, Dr. C. A. Brown added some 450 books, manuscripts and prints in memory of his parents and, more recently, the library of Dr. Tenney L. Davis, which is especially strong in pyrotechnics and Oriental alchemy, has also been incorporated.

The expansion of the Chemistry Department in 1954 made necessary the occupation of the quarters in the Harrison Laboratory formerly used by the Edgar Fahs Smith Collection. These quarters were inadequate in any case and the Collection had been overflowing in various directions. Unfortunately unavoidable delays resulted in the temporary closing of the Edgar Fahs Smith Collection until it was possible to re-establish it in its present, more ample and satisfactory location where, once again, all the books, portraits, medals and memorabilia are placed together. In June of this year, Dr. Charles W. David had the pleasant task of announcing the completion of the move and the reopening for the use of scholars and students. This good news is already spread-

\* University of Pennsylvania.



ing and the reopening has been announced in the *Archives Internationales d'histoire des sciences* (N. S. 8:328, 1955).

The Collection is now housed in Room 420 of the Hare Building, University of Pennsylvania, 36th and Spruce Streets, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania. In addition to a half-time custodian to service the Collection, Miss Eva V. Armstrong, who has done so much for the collection and for the scholars who have used it, will be in the library on Wednesdays. Dr. Claude K. Deischer of the Department of Chemistry, University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed Acting Curator. Thus, one of the most distinguished collections of the University of Pennsylvania Libraries resumes its time-honored role.

#### BRIEF NOTES

Since the checklist of 1,112 titles of the Singer-Mendenhall Collection of English Fiction (to 1820) was published in 1954, 86 new titles have been added. Most of the recent acquisitions represent new texts though some of the titles are American 18th-century reprints of English novels. Continental European fiction in English translation is a main factor of the collection. This emphasis is reflected by the acquisition of twelve new titles. Among the authors represented by new accessions are Comtesse d'Aulnoy, Daniel Defoe, Maria Edgeworth, Eliza Haywood, and Tobias Smollett. Two especially significant additions are Matthew Gregory Lewis, *The Monk* (1796), and James White, *Earl Strongbow* (1789). The Library plans a supplement to the 1954 checklist, with revisions.

Mrs. Albert E. Kennedy of Haverford, Pennsylvania, has made a generous gift of books to the Library. Among the many fine editions by modern authors are twenty-five editions of Rudyard Kipling, including rare and valuable pamphlet publications, as well as *éditiones principes* of Wells, Theodore Dreiser, O. Henry, and Galsworthy.

N. M. WESTLAKE.



Recently published:

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*and the*  
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---

by FREDSON BOWERS

*Professor of English, University of Virginia;  
Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography, 1954*

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# The Place of Learning in the University

KENNETH M. SETTON\*

THE place of learning in a university, including the University of Pennsylvania, may well be subject to discussion but hardly to the necessity of defense. The University doubtless serves many purposes, but we are here concerned with knowledge. We leave to churches, government agencies, and to athletic associations various functions which some people believe, and perhaps rightly, should be included in the overall university curriculum. I am concerned, however, with the essential purposes of a university which, it seems to me, are (1) the addition to knowledge by research; (2) the dissemination of knowledge by teaching; and (3) the sheer preservation of knowledge. I suspect that we are no more materialistic than any other people, but ours is a utilitarian society. It is my understanding, for example, that up until about 1900 schools of theology received many and very generous gifts while schools of medicine were not nearly so fortunate. Since 1900, however, the trend has been reversed, and schools of medicine have received increasingly large gifts while schools of theology have suffered from constantly decreasing support. The humanities have tended to suffer the same fate as schools of theology. I am concerned to no small extent with the third of the purposes of the University which I have indicated, the sheer preservation of knowledge.

It is commonly assumed that, since such subjects as Hebrew philology, classical studies, philosophy, history, and the like have long been taught in universities, their future is well assured. We possess these areas of knowledge. We need not worry about them. Unfortunately, this is not true. Knowledge exists in human minds and not in books. The foundations, like other donors of funds in this country, have been attracted by utility and by novelty. The humanities have received very little support. I was shocked some time ago to learn from the manager of sponsored research in the University that, whereas he knew where thousands could be secured for this science or that, he scarcely knew where a single cent

\* Director of Libraries. Read on November 10, 1955 at a meeting, in Dietrich Hall, of the Associated University of Pennsylvania Clubs.

could be secured for the support of research in the humanities. Our utilitarian bent of mind, our admiration for "know-how," has been damaging even to the scientists because we have tended to support applied science at the expense of pure science. There is too much "gadget" research in our universities. Manufacturers of pharmaceutical products and electrical equipment want negotiable results. They are too often willing to leave the support of theoretical research to others. Who can blame them? But who is going, as my son says, "to pick up the tab" for the costs of pure science? Most universities in this country live in an atmosphere of perennial financial crisis. But the practical application of knowledge presupposes the existence of knowledge, which itself comes from abstract speculation and from the unencumbered investigation of problems that arise unexpectedly. The solution of such problems is often more valuable than the answer to the question which the researcher had originally sought. This is the very nature of research; the process of learning is capricious. We start to write a book on one subject, but sometimes end up with something quite different, and more important. The researcher must be supported, but we should allow him to determine what he is going to do.

We have not been as concerned about learning more as we have been about putting to use the knowledge we already have. But certainly, as the good Book suggests, we must do the one and not leave the other undone. Actually all knowledge is related and the parts of a given culture are related also. The political scientist may thus find the results of his research less useful to himself and his fellows than to the sociologist. A discovery in morphology may be of more value in anthropology than in the science in which it was made. The late Sir Arthur Keith says somewhere that he came to his conclusions in anthropology before he had read the works of Spencer. A parallelism exists between their conclusions. Undoubtedly Keith would have seen the way more clearly, and would have travelled it more rapidly, had he been a student of philosophy, in which case he would have read Spencer long before he did. Not only do the various sciences assist one another because of the physical structure of the planet, composed according to marvelous patterns, but the various elements which make

up western culture are also pretty much parts of a related whole.

It seems to me there is great likelihood that in the rapid social transformation of our day we are in danger of losing, from the failure to support it, much of our past tradition. The rise of the great pluralist state, the immense industrialization of the last generation, the progressive proletarianization of culture are all tending to detach us from the past. We are becoming uprooted. But the ancient and medieval tradition lies at the base of the religious and the ethical structure of western society. With the dissolution of this tradition, which is proceeding decade after decade almost with an inexorability beyond our power to control, Christianity itself appears to me to be imperiled. If we are not prepared for vast changes in our way of life, we must be almost as anxious to preserve the body of knowledge laboriously gained in the past as we are to add to it.

An historian of my acquaintance who has been investigating the relations between the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox Churches in the later medieval and Renaissance periods has been struck by finding occasional sources which to his knowledge have not been used by historians in modern times, only to discover that they were well known to Leone Allacci, the papal librarian in the seventeenth century. Our hold upon the knowledge of the past is that tenuous in this generation. We are in danger of sacrificing the accumulated resources of centuries of knowledge because we do not see its immediate and practical relevance. Since I have come to Pennsylvania I have heard so much about Benjamin Franklin that I have come to regard him as one of the trustees. I almost think that I myself heard him say that "a penny saved is a penny earned." I wish the foundations would hearken to his advice. It seems to me almost as important to save our past knowledge as to acquire more. In any event if we do not save past knowledge, what will be the use of the knowledge we acquire today, so long as we proceed to abandon it in our frantic search to learn something new and something more in the years that lie ahead.

The humanities in this country are perishing on the vine. I fear that too few able people are going into humanistic professions;

there are too few scholars to assume the responsibility of what I have called the sheer preservation of past learning. Another difficulty is that with so few laboring in this vineyard, we cannot pick the grapes. Humanists are failing, either from want of ability or support, to communicate with their contemporaries. They are losing ground everywhere. Professional theologians and ecclesiastical historians are being supported by churches, but even here few are outstanding, and every church in this country relies upon Europeans for its theological maintenance. How long can we go on this way? The university is the natural storehouse of learning, but apparently the humanities can't pay the rent. We are too attracted by unproductive novelty, too easily led by reformers in a hurry—evidences of weakening educational traditions. I am reminded of Newman's observation:

Every now and then you will find a person of vigorous or fertile mind, who relies upon his own resources, despises all former authors, and gives the world, with the utmost fearlessness, his views upon religion, or history, or any other popular subject. And his works may sell for a while; he may get a name in his day; but this will be all. His readers are sure to find in the long run that his doctrines are mere theories, and not the expression of facts, that they are chaff instead of bread, and then his popularity drops as suddenly as it rose.

I think we have already suffered too much in certain areas from the bane of specious originality. We require less novelty and firmer bases upon which to build education and research.



# American Imprints Before 1801 in the University of Pennsylvania Library and Not in Evans

THOMAS R. ADAMS\*

## *Introduction*

AT first glance it may seem presumptuous for the University of Pennsylvania Library to offer a list of its holdings in American imprints. The riches of neighboring institutions such as The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, The Library Company of Philadelphia and the Library of the American Philosophical Society made the University Library decide long ago to avoid collecting American imprints as such. The Curtis Collection of Franklin imprints has been the one exception to this general principle, and fifteen of the titles in this list are drawn from that collection. The other fifty-eight titles came to the Library for reasons quite incidental to the fact that they were printed in America. In all but one or two cases they have been acquired in the past thirty years. No claim of uniqueness is made for them; indeed the titles of at least one third have been recorded in bibliographies cited, and in some cases a number of copies are known. Numerous supplements to Evans have been compiled and some of these titles will be found therein. However, it seems worth while to compile this catalogue as a record of the University's holdings and to provide additional location for scarce items.

## *List of Imprints*

The list uses a modified Evans form of entry. The titles, and in most cases the imprints, have been abbreviated. The capitalization has been standardized: words printed in capitals and lower case, or in capital and small capitals, are indicated by capitalizing the first letter of the word. The imprint has been put in italics as in Evans. It should be noted that item no. 73 failed to appear in Mr. Shipton's final volume of Evans, since it was received by the Library too late to be reported.

\* Chapin Library, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.

## 1. GERRISH, SAMUEL

A Catalogue Of Curious and Valuable Books . . . To be Sold by Auction . . . the Twenty Sixth Day of . . . October, 1719 . . .

[*Boston*] Printed by J. Franklin. 1719. 1p.l., 18p. 8vo.  
Campbell X5, McKay 12.

## 2. The Case Of Isaac Taylor and Elisha Gatchel, Two Officers of Pennsylvania, made Prisoners by the Government of Maryland.

*Printed at Philadelphia, in the Year 1723.* 2p. fol. Caption-title, imprint at foot of p. 2.

Variant of Evans 2482.

## 3. PENNSYLVANIA PROVINCE

Anno Regni Georgii II. . . . Tertio. At a General Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, begun . . . the Fourteenth Day of October . . . 1729 . . . continued . . . to the Twelfth of January, 1729 . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin and H. Meredith . . . M,DCC,XXX.* 6p. fol.

A separate printing (pp. 43–45) of an act naturalizing Martin Mylin and others (An Act for the better enabling divers Inhabitants . . .) from Evans 3338. Campbell 13.

## 4. FOX, GEORGE, 1624–1691

Instructions For Right Spelling, And Plain Directions For Reading And Writing True English . . .

*Re-printed at Philadelphia by B. Franklin. 1737.* 120p. 12mo. Imperfect, 40 pages wanting and others, including the t.-p., mutilated.

Campbell 106, Rosenbach 25.

## 5. PENNSYLVANIA PROVINCE

Anno Regni Georgii II. . . . Duodecimo. At a General Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, begun . . . the Four-

teenth Day of October . . . 1738 . . . continued . . . to the First Day of May, 1739.

*Philadelphia: Printed and Sold B. Franklin . . . M,DCC,XXXIX. 7p. fol.*

A separate printing (pp. 224–228) of “An Act for the better enabling divers Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania, to trade and hold Land within the said Province,” from Evans 4408. With ms. receipt for £1.2.—from Abraham Witmer “for his Naturalization,” signed Christian Grassold.

Campbell 128.

1740

## 6. PEMBERTON, ISRAEL, 1715–1779

Copy of Part of a Letter from Israel Pemberton, and Son, of Philadelphia, to David Barclay, and Son, of London.

[*Philadelphia? B. Franklin? 1740?*] Broadside. One of the type ornaments used at the top of the sheet is the same as one used in Whitefield’s *A Journal of a Voyage from Gibraltar*, 1739, printed by Franklin (Evans 4453, Campbell 157).

1741

## 7. PENNSYLVANIA PROVINCE

The Charters Of The Province of Pennsilvania And City of Philadelphia.

*Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin. MDCCXLI. 30p. fol.*

Campbell 189.

1745

8. Articles Of Agreement, Had, made and concluded upon, in the City of Philadelphia . . . on the Second Day of September . . . 1745, between John Cunnyngnam Commander of the private Man of War Snow the Dreadnought, and the said Snow’s Company . . .

[*Philadelphia, 1745*] Broadside. Imperfect: lower left hand corner, involving about 1/10 of the text, wanting.

1747

## 9. NEW JERSEY PROVINCE

General Instructions by the Surveyor General, to the Deputy Surveyors of the Western Division of New-Jersey.

[*Philadelphia? B. Franklin? 1747?*] 5,[1]p. fol. Caption-title. The tentative attribution of this and no. 10 to Franklin’s press is based on the type

which appears to be the same as used for *A Treaty Between . . . the Promise of Pennsylvania and the Indians of Ohio*, 1748, Evans 6168, and the *Votes and Proceedings* of 1745, Evans 5671.

Campbell 358.

## 10. NEW JERSEY PROVINCE

General Instructions by the Surveyor General, to the Deputy Surveyors of the Eastern Division of New-Jersey.

[*Philadelphia? B. Franklin? 1747?*] 5,[1]p. fol. Caption-title. This and the item above, no. 9, were printed from the same setting of type, the only difference being the substitution of "Eastern" for "Western" in the title, and one place in the text.

Campbell 358.

1748

## 11. BAPTIST CHURCH

Brief Instruction In The Principles of Christian Religion . . . The Sixth Edition, Corrected . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall, MDCCXLVIII.* 48p. 8vo. Imperfect, pp. 47-8 wanting.

The preface is signed A[bel] Morgan, but this appears to be another edition of Benjamin Keach's *Child's Instructor, A Baptist Catechism*, first published in London about 1679.

Campbell 376.

1749

## 12. PENNSYLVANIA PROVINCE

Anno Regni Georgii II. . . . Vigesimo Tertio. At a General Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, begun . . . the Fourteenth Day of October . . . 1748 . . . continued . . . to the Seventh Day of August, 1749.

*Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin . . . 1749.* 19p. 8vo. A separate printing (pp. 98-105) of "An Act for Amending the Laws relating to the Poor," from Evans 6395.

Campbell 408.

1752

## 13. PENNSYLVANIA PROVINCE

Votes And Proceedings Of The House of Representatives Of The Province of Pennsylvania, Met at Philadelphia, on the Fourteenth of October . . . 1751, and continued by Adjournments.

*Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin . . . MDCCCLII.* 62p. fol. Campbell 498.

## 14. GREAT BRITAIN

Instructions Given By Benjamin Franklin, and William Hunter, Esquires, His Majesty's Deputy Post-Masters General of all his Dominions on the Continent of North America . . .

[*Philadelphia?* B. Franklin and D. Hall? ca. 1753] Broadside. The attribution to Franklin and Hall's press is based on the type which is the same as in nos. 9 and 10 above.

Campbell 503.

## 15. EVANS, LEWIS, CA. 1700-1756

Geographical, Historical, Political, Philosophical and Mechanical Essays. The First . . . The Second Edition.

*Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin, and D. Hall. MDCCLV. And sold by J. and R. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall, London. iv, 32p. 4to.*

A variant imprint of Evans nos. 7411-3. Campbell 544.

## 16. MORE, ROGER

Poor Roger, 1757. The American Country Almanack, For The Year of Christian Account 1757 . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin and D. Hall . . . [1756] [24]p. 8vo. Imperfect, all but a fragment of the inner margin of A2 wanting.*

Evans 7722 cites a New York edition without location.

Campbell 570.

17. A Collection Of Devotional Tracts, Viz. An Extract of the Spirit of Prayer. By W. Law, A.M. A Discourse on Mistakes concerning Religion, &c. By Thomas Hartley, A.M. Christ's Spirit, a Christian Strength. By William Dell. The Stumbling Stone. By Ditto. The Doctrine of Baptism. By Ditto. The Trial of Spirits. By Ditto. The Liberty of Flesh and Spirit distinguished. By J. Ruty. Observations on Enslaving, Importing, and Purchasing of Negroes, &c. The Uncertainty of a Death-bed Repentance.

[*Philadelphia, 1760?*] 6 pts. in 1v. 8vo. A collection of six tracts printed by Franklin & Hall and Christopher Sower, between 1759 and 1760, with a collective half-title. Only six of the above eight (Evans 8633, 8364, 8338, 8578, 8486, 8542) are included in this copy.

## 18. PENNSYLVANIA PROVINCE

By The Honourable James Hamilton, Esq.; Lieutenant-Governor . . . the Province of Pennsylvania . . . To. These are to authorize you, by Beat of Drum, or otherwise, to raise many Volunteers . . .

[*Philadelphia? B. Franklin and D. Hall? 1760*] Broadside.

1761

19. Namen-Buchlein Samt den Fünff Haupt-Stücken, Vor Kinder, welche anfangen zu lernen.

*Philadelphia, gedruckt und zu haben bey Peter Müller, und Compagnie 1761.* [16]p. 8vo.

## 20. SMITH, WILLIAM, 1727-1803

An Exercise, Consisting Of A Dialogue And Ode . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed And Sold By Andrew Stewart . . . And By Hugh Gaine, In New-York [1761?] 8p. 8vo.*

A reprint of Evans 8882; Adams 2, Sabin 84607.

1763

## 21. PENNSYLVANIA PROVINCE

By The Honourable John Penn . . . A Proclamation. Whereas I have received Information, That . . . a Number of People . . . went to the Indian Town in the Conestogoe Manor . . . and . . . killed six of the Indians . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin, and D. Hall [1763]* Broadside. Imprint at foot of page.

1764

22. Advice To Youths, To Which is added a short Sketch, and a Warning to Scolding Wives: Written by a young Woman in Philadelphia, for the good of such Sex. (by A. C.)

[*Philadelphia*] *Printed by Anthony Armbruster . . . 1764.* 8p. 8vo. Caption-title. Imprint is part of caption title.

## 23. PHILADELPHIA, LIBRARY COMPANY

Whereas a Law was passed the Thirteenth Day of March . . . by the Library Company . . . enabling the Directors . . . to admit Members of the Union Library Company . . .

[*Philadelphia 1769*] Broadside.

## 24. An Exercise, Containing A Dialogue and two Odes . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed by J. Cruikshank and I. Collins. [1770]. 8p. 4to.*

This has been attributed to Provost William Smith, but his authorship is doubtful.

Adams 8, Sabin 84610, *note*.

## 25. PENNSYLVANIA PROVINCE

By The Honourable John Penn . . . A Proclamation. Whereas Information hath been made . . . that . . . Isaac Meyer was . . . wounded by some Person unknown . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed by D. Hall, and W. Sellers, 1770.* Broadside. Imprint at foot of page.

## 26. [RUSH, BENJAMIN], 1745–1813

Syllabus Of a Course Of Lectures On Chemistry.

*Philadelphia: Printed 1770.* 48p. 8vo.

Sutton 1.

## 27. PENNSYLVANIA PROVINCE

By The Honourable James Hamilton . . . A Proclamation. Whereas the Honourable John Penn . . . hath embarked for Great-Britain, and . . . the Exercise of the Powers of Government . . . is devolved on . . . Us, We . . . declare, that all Persons . . . who . . . enjoyed any Office . . . shall continue . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed by D. Hall, and W. Sellers. 1771.* Broadside. Imprint at foot of page.



28. To The Inhabitants Of Pennsylvania. Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow Citizens [a reply to Publicus on the matter of the excise]

[*Philadelphia?* 1773?] Broadside.

Signed at end: Cives.

29. RUSH, BENJAMIN, 1745-1813

A Syllabus Of A Course Of Lectures On Chemistry . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed for, and sold by R. Aitken* . . . [1774]. 40p. 12mo.  
1 fold. table.

Sutton 2.

30. RICH, ELISHA

Poetical Dialogues, Calculated for the help of Timorous and Tempted Christians . . .

*Boston: Printed, by Nathaniel Coverly, for the Author. M,DCCLXXV.* 36p. 4to.

Wegelin 324.

31. SWAN, ABRAHAM

The British Architect: Or, The Builders Treasury Of Stair-Cases . . . illustrated with upwards of One Hundred Designs and Examples . . . engraved on Sixty Folio Copper-Plates . . .

*Philadelphia. Printed by R. Bell* . . . *For John Norman* . . . *M,DCC,-LXXV.* 4p.l., [iii]-vi, 17, [123]p. fol. 60 plates.

Hitchcock 1248.

32. [PAINE, THOMAS], 1737-1809

Common Sense; Addressed To The Inhabitants of America . . . A New Edition . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by W. and T. Bradford M,DCC,LXXVI.* <Price One British Shilling.> 99p. 8vo.

33. [PAINE, THOMAS], 1737-1809

Common Sense: Addressed To The Inhabitants Of America . . . Written by an Englishman . . .

*Philadelphia, Printed. And Sold by R. Bell* . . . 1776. 2p.l., 77p. 4to.

34. A Muster Roll of Capt. Roderick Random's Company of the Twentieth Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot . . . April 1, 1777

. . .

[*Philadelphia?* 1777?] Broadside.

A sample form for compiling a muster roll.

### 35. BANK OF NORTH AMERICA, PHILADELPHIA

To the Public. On the 17th day of May, 1781, the following plan was submitted to . . . the united states in congress assembled: Plan for establishing a National Bank, for the United States of North-America . . . [the resolution together with a prospectus, signed] Robert Morris. Philadelphia, May 28, 1781. We, the subscribers . . . sign our names . . .

[*Philadelphia?* 1781?] Broadside. In three columns.

Evans 17395 lists what appears to be a Providence printing, but Alden 860 does not locate a copy.

### 36. ROOTS, BENAJAH

The True Church of Christ Described; In A Sermon, Delivered . . . October 20th, A.D. 1783 . . .

*Bennington: Printed By Haswell & Russell. [1783]. 38p. 12mo. Cooley 22.*

### 37. PENNSYLVANIA, UNIVERSITY OF

Rules for the Good Government and Discipline of the Schools in the University of Pennsylvania.

*Philadelphia, Printed by Francis Bailey . . . [1784] Broadside. Imprint at foot of page.*

Signed: J. Sproat, Secretary. August 4, 1784.

### 38. PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia, February 1, 1784. Wardens Office. Whereas by an Act of General Assembly, passed 20th September, 1783, and by one other Act passed 22d January 1774 . . . no Commander . . . having charge of any Ship . . . having on board any greater Number . . . than Forty . . . shall bring his Ship . . . nearer to the City of Philadelphia than . . . Little Mud Island . . .

[*Philadelphia 1784*] Broadside. Signed: John Knox, Clerk.

1785

39. Constant Charley: Together with the Banks of the Dee, And The Answer.

[*Boston: Thomas Fleet*] *Sold at the Bible and Heart, in Cornhill.* [ca. 1785–1790] Broadside. The three poems are in two columns. A wood-cut of Prince Charles Edward, the young pretender, is found in the upper left hand corner.

A manuscript note at the bottom reads: “Marcy Sturtevant’s Ballad. Pembroke, October 27th.”

1786

40. DILWORTH, THOMAS, D. 1780

The Schoolmasters Assistant: Being A Compendium of Arithmetic, Both Practical and Theoretical . . . The Twenty-Third Edition . . .

*Hartford: Printed and Sold by Nathaniel Patten, M,DCC,LXXXVI.* 192, 192–199p. incl. front. 12mo.

Trumbull 596.

41. The Following Extracts From The Writings Of Pious Men . . . Exposing the evil and pernicious effects of Stage Plays . . . To Which Is Added, An Enquiry Into The Effects Of Spirituous Liquors Upon The Human Body.

*New-York: Printed by Francis Childs, Corner of Water & Wall Streets . . . [1786].* 32p. 4to.

The “Enquiry” is an abridgement of Benjamin Rush’s *An Inquiry into the Influence of Spirituous Liquors*, first printed in 1784. Evans and McKay place the printer at the above address between 1787 and 1788, but the first owner of the pamphlet, William Woodbridge, autographed it in two places with the date July 7, 1786.

#### 42. PHILADELPHIA, SCOTCH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

To the Representatives of the Freemen of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met. The Petition of Peter January, John Purdon, Robert Aitken, William Richards and Frazer Kinsley . . . members in unity with . . . the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.

[*Philadelphia: Robert Aitken? 1786*] Broadside. Dated at bottom: February 22, 1786.

1787

#### 43. EWING, JOHN, 1732-1802

A Sermon, Preached At The Ordination And Installment Of The Rev<sup>d</sup>. Ashbald Green . . . With An Abstract Of The Proceedings on That Occasion. By the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Dr. Sproat And The Charge . . . By the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Dr. Duffield . . .

*Philadelphia: 'Printed By F. Bailey . . . MDCCCLXXXVII. 1p.l., 53, [1]p. 8vo.*

Evans 20350 cites only the special title page of Ewing's sermon which is on p. 1.

#### 44. PENNSYLVANIA STATE

State of Pennsylvania. In General Assembly, Saturday, September 29th, 1787. A.M. [Extract of Resolutions concerning the forthcoming Constitutional Convention]

*Philadelphia: Printed By Hall And Sellers. [1787] Broadside.*

1788

#### 45. BIBLE

The New Testament Of Our Lord And Saviour Jesus Christ, Translated Out Of The Original Greek . . . Appointed To Be Read In Churches.

*Trenton: Printed And Sold By Isaac Collins. M.DCC.LXXXVIII. 359p. 12mo.*

#### 46. HOPKINSON, FRANCIS, 1737-1791

Seven Songs for the Harpsichord or Forte Piano . . .

*Philadelphia: Publish'd & Sold by T. Dobson [1788]. 2p.l., 11, [1]p. fol.* Title page and music engraved.

Sonneck, p. 403.

47. On Spring.

*Philadelphia: Printed in the Year, 1788.* Broadside. Imprint at foot of page.

Six verses beginning: "Now piercing Boreas takes the wing." Pencil note attributes the poem to Jonathan Odell, but he was in Canada at this time.

48. POPE, ALEXANDER, 1688-1744

The Messiah, A Sacred Eclogue . . . To Which Is Added, A Collection Of Poems, By Several Authors.

*Philadelphia: Printed By Joseph Crukshank . . . MDCCLXXXVIII.* 2p.l., 68p. 12mo.

1789

49. RUSH, BENJAMIN, 1745-1813

Observations On The Duties of a Physician . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed And Sold by Prichard & Hall . . . M.DCC.-LXXXIX.* 11p. 8vo.

1790

50. UNITED STATES

Congress of the United States: At The Second Session, Begun and held at the city of New-York, on Monday the fourth of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety. An Act for finally adjusting and satisfying the Claims of Frederick William De Steuben . . . Approved, June the 4th, 1790. George Washington, President of the United States . . .

[*New-York*] *Printed by Francis Childs and John Swaine.* [1790] Broadside.

1791

51. JARRATT, DEVEREUX, 1733-1801

Thoughts On Some Subjects In Divinity . . .

*Baltimore: Printed By David Graham . . . MDCCXCI.* 33p. 12mo. Minick 18.

52. A Song composed for the Fraternity of Steuben Lodge, No. 18, Newburgh, by G\_\_\_\_ H\_\_\_\_ S\_\_\_\_. January 18, 1791.

[*Newburgh, 1791*] Broadside.  
Wegelin 780.

## 53. BENNETT, JOHN

Letters To A Young Lady, On A Variety Of Useful And Interesting Subjects . . . Second Hartford Edition.

*Hartford: Printed By Hudson And Goodwin. M,DCC,XCII. 2v. in 1 (xii, 142p., 1l.; 155p.) 12mo.*

Trumbull 355. First printed at Warrington, 1794.

## 54. JARRATT, DEVEREUX, 1733-1801

Thoughts On Christian Holiness . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed By Johnson & Justice . . . MDCCXCII. For William Glendinning . . . 44p. 12mo.*

## 55. MAGRUDER, NINIAN, D. 1823

An Inaugural Dissertation On The Small-Pox: Submitted to . . . Rev. John Ewing . . . The Trustees And Medical Professors Of The University of Pennsylvania . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed By Zachariah Paulson . . . MDCCXCII. 24p. 8vo.*

## 56. THE HIBERNIAN SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA

The Incorporation, Bye-Laws, &c. Of The Hibernian Society For The Relief Of Emigrants From Ireland.

*Philadelphia: Printed By Daniel Humphreys. M.DCC.XCIII. 15, [1]p. 8vo.*

## 57. [ADAMS, JOHN], 1750-1814

Sketches Of The History, Genius, Disposition, Accomplishments, Employments, Customs And Importance Of The Fair Sex . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed By Samuel Sansom, Jun. No. 27, Mulberry-Street. [ca. 1794-96] viii, 292p. 12mo.*

## 58. GODINEAU

Oration Upon Religious Worship, Delivered by Citizen Godineau, eldest at the tribune of the National Club of Bor-

deaux, before the Representatives of the People Tallien and Yzabeau, on the 20th of November, 1793.

*Printed And Sold [by Benjamin Franklin Bache] At No. 112, Market-Street, Philadelphia. [1794?] 8p. 8vo. Caption-title. Imprint at foot of p. 8.*

1795

59. Count Roderic's Castle; Or, Gothic Times, A Tale. In Two Volumes . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed By Thomas Bradford . . . 1795. 2v. (112p.; 122, [5]p.; last 5p. advts.) 12mo.*

First printed in London, 1794.

60. [LONGUEVILLE, PETER]

The Hermit: Or The Unparalleled Sufferings And Suprising Adventures Of Philip Quarll . . . With An Elegant Frontispiece. A New Edition.

*Printed At Exeter, By H. Ranlet, For I. Thomas, And E. T. Andrews . . . Boston. M,DCC,XCV. 263p. incl. woodcut front. 12mo.*

61. PENNSYLVANIA, UNIVERSITY OF

The Report Of The Committee For The Arrangement Of The Schools In The University Of Pennsylvania.

*Philadelphia: Printed By Samuel H. Smith . . . M.DCC.XCV. 32p. 8vo.*

62. RUSH, BENJAMIN, 1745-1813

A Syllabus Of A Course Of Lectures On The Institutes of Medicine . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed & Sold By Thomas Bradford . . . 1795. 15p. 8vo.*  
This copy is copiously interleaved with notes on the lectures.

1796

63. [BICKERSTAFF, ISAAC], 1735-1812

The Spoil'd Child. A Farce . . . First American Edition.

*Printed At Boston, By Thomas Hall . . . For William P. Blake . . . 1796. 28, [3]p. 12mo. Imperfect: pp. 13-14 wanting.*



64. [HONEYWOOD, ST. JOHN], 1763-1798

A Poem On The President's Farewell Address . . . Second Edition.

*Philadelphia: Printed for John Ormrod . . . By Ormrod & Conrad [1796?]*  
8p. 8vo.

A second edition of Evans 30580.

65. Pennsylvanischer Calender, Auf das 1797ste Jahr Christi, welches ein gemeines Jahr von 365 Tagen ist . . .

*York: Gedruckt und zu finden bey Salomon Mäyer. [1796] [44]p. 4to.*

Evans 30989 lists this title with an Ephrata imprint, but without collation or location.

66. PHILADELPHIA

Report Of A Committee Of The Select Council Of Philadelphia. Read November 10th. 1796.

*Philadelphia: Printed By Zachariah Poulson . . . 1796. 24p. 8vo.*

A report on the finances of the city.

67. A Reply To The False Reasoning In The "Age Of Reason." To Which Are Added, Some Thoughts On Idolatry . . . By A Layman.

*Philadelphia: Printed By Henry Tuckniss, For The Author . . . 1796. 40p. 12mo.*

68. WASHINGTON, GEORGE, 1732-1799

Official Letters To The Honorable American Congress, Written, during the War between the United Colonies and Great-Britain . . .

*New-York: Printed And Sold By Samuel Campbell . . . M,DCC,XCVI. 2v. 8vo. Imperfect: vol. II wanting.*

1797

69. PAINE, THOMAS, 1737-1809

The Rights of Man, For The Benefit Of All Mankind . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed And Sold By D. Webster, A British Exile. 1797. iv, 56p. 8vo.*

An abridgement.

## 70. COOPER, W. D.

The History Of North America: Containing A Review Of The Customs And Manners . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by Stewart & Cochran . . . M,DCC,-XCVIII.* 161p. 12mo.

## 71. LEWIS, MATTHEW GREGORY, 1775-1818

Ambrosio, Or The Monk: A Romance . . . Three Volumes In Two . . . The First American, From The Fourth British Edition . . .

*Philadelphia: Printed For W. Cobbett . . . 1798.* 2v. (323, 325p.) 12mo.

## 72. Ein schön Jesus = Lied

[*Reading?* 1799?] Broadside.

A nine-verse poem beginning, "Wo ist Jesus mein Verlangen?" Contemporary mss. note reads, "Elizabeth Kunsman Her Song June 22th 1799. James Collier Reading 1799."

## 73. PENNSYLVANIA, UNIVERSITY OF

List Of The Estate and Property Of The University of Pennsylvania. December 31st, 1799.

[*Philadelphia?* 1800?]. 4p. 8vo. Caption-title.

Signed at end: Edward Fox, Treasurer. December 31st, 1799.

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# The Growing Pains of French Finance, 1522-1523

(University of Pennsylvania Ms. Fr. 18)

MARTIN WOLFE\* AND NORMAN ZACOUR\*

## Introduction

BY the sixteenth century, the growth of monarchical power in France had produced many important by-products, not least among which was a relatively modern fiscal system. Feudal monarchy was a thing of the past. *C'est en fini de la monarchie féodale, réduite à son domain et se faisant aider exceptionnellement par ses vassaux.*<sup>1</sup> But the problems facing the king in consolidating his new-found economic resources were many, especially since he had to work within a system burdened by feudal usage and archaic custom. The manuscript which we are here publishing with a translation gives us some insight into the problems of financial administration under Francis I, and the rationale underlying the reforms of his reign.<sup>2</sup>

Not the least interesting feature of this manuscript is the fact that it is, to our knowledge, the earliest document to refer to *tailles* (land taxes), *aides* (excise taxes) and *gabelles* (salt taxes) as "ordinary" revenues. Until this time (i.e. 1522-1523) the French preserved the fiction that their king "lived of his own" (that is, on income derived for the most part from the royal domain), and was voted aids, etc., only by act of the people's representatives and only for reasons of national emergency. But these "extraordinary" taxes were granted and levied in France so regularly during the long-drawn-out emergency of the Hundred Years War that by the 1440's the king no longer considered it necessary to ask permission to collect them. Meanwhile, the organization of the fiscal system continued to be based on the division between

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ordinary and extraordinary revenue in the medieval sense, with *trésoriers* responsible for domanial income and *généraux* for tallages, aids, and gabelles, and with a separate organization for each group of collectors. It will be seen that in our manuscript the important nationwide taxes (by 1500 bringing in 45 times the value of domanial revenue) are spoken of, as a matter of course, as being in the "ordinary" category. The "extraordinary" category here is reduced to include only relatively unimportant "casual" income such as confiscations and fines, the annual revenue from which could not be predicted. This marks a complete change in the original meanings of the terms.

The king's battle for the right to tax national income regularly was won before the time of Francis I. But the rate of expenditure under this Renaissance prince, with his clients, his elaborate court, and his frightfully expensive Italian campaigns, was pushing the government ever deeper into debt to French and Italian moneylenders. When annual *états* (budgets) were drawn up, and embarrassing deficits revealed, the king was surprised and humiliated, or so he tells us. With some reason, he suggested that the existing system of public finance was channeling revenue into pockets other than his own, and there soon followed a strenuous effort to improve the fiscal organization.

These reforms were precipitated by a scandal involving the highest financial agent in the land, Jacques de Beaune, Sire de Semblançay, a wealthy merchant who had made himself indispensable to the king in these days before the development of a banking system by his ability to persuade his fellow merchants to trust the government with their funds. But by 1521 Semblançay found it most difficult to borrow more money. The *état* for 1522 showed a deficit of 2,500,000 *livres*, and the king began to threaten Semblançay and the other *gens de finance*, suggesting that they were cheating him.<sup>3</sup> The avaricious queen-mother, Louise of Savoy, allowed Semblançay's enemies in the royal council to trump up some implausible charges against him, for which the poor man paid with his fortune and his life. It was a curious parallel to the career of Jacques Coeur, an even more famous royal "money man" some seventy-five years previously, with this important difference, that now the uproar was accompanied

by investigations, conferences, and proposals for financial reform.

In brief, the subsequent reforms of the 1520's and 1530's entailed the following: (1) the chain of responsibility was made stronger by improving the system of accounting and auditing, and by concentrating power in the hands of two or three officials rather than continuing the old separate and autonomous organizations for each tax and each tax district; and (2) bureaucrats, responsible to the royal council, were substituted for the wealthy merchants who had acted as part-time fiscal agents. Our manuscript is one of the earliest proposals for this type of reform. Several of its suggestions certainly foreshadowed, and probably inspired, the changes made. The handsome form of the document indicates that it was intended for the eyes of an important person, not unlikely the king himself.

In earlier times, when the great national taxes had been levied infrequently, there was no permanent organization for their collection; such an organization would have been far too expensive, and in all events its presence would have implied that such taxation was permanent, an idea abhorrent to the Middle Ages. Therefore, when such taxes were levied, the government put the right to collect them up to the highest bidder, a system known as "farming" the taxes.<sup>4</sup> The successful bidder was not responsible to the king for the total tax collected, but only for the sum pledged in the bidding, less expenses of collection. This made good sense in times when the lack of a well-established financial system prevented money from being transferred about the country easily. But the result was that the collection of what was justly due the king was dependent on the veracity and energy of hundreds of independent merchants, all inclined to look upon tax collecting as a business venture. The king's counsellors, furthermore, never could know the state of the nation's finances at any given time; not until after an annoying delay, when the final accounts were in and an *état* drawn up, was it possible to know whether the fiscal year had ended in the black or the red.

The establishment of a more adequate mechanism for accountability, therefore, is a prime concern for the author of our manuscript. In great detail he sets forth recommendations that



all transactions be carefully registered in duplicate or triplicate, that copies of these registers be made available at regular intervals during the course of the fiscal year and not simply at the year's end, and that all registers be turned in promptly for proper auditing by the *Chambre des comptes*, most praiseworthy goals, but unfortunately not easily achieved in the chaotic state of French finance and, in fact, not fully realized until the Napoleonic reforms in the early nineteenth century.

In another area, however, that of revenue collection, the author urges reforms which were put into operation with a fair degree of success very soon after the document was prepared. There were at this time seven *généralités* (tax districts), and the *généraux* in charge were responsible only to the king. In paragraph 30 our reformer suggests the appointment of a "treasurer-general" of "honesty and wide experience," to be set over all the *généraux*. Furthermore, this key figure is to be placed in a fixed spot and not required to follow the perambulatory court. Independent of the treasurer-general, another "notable personage," this one to be attached to the court wherever it might be, was to be given complete charge of all extraordinary income, under the general supervision of the chancellor (para. 37).

Another proposal of considerable importance is that for establishing some bureaucratic control over royal expenditure. This was a much more touchy subject, of course, and the author is at pains to indicate that there is no intention of blocking the king's will in the interest of a balanced budget, as we should say today; the main job of the officials concerned would be simply to register carefully all expenditures. Here again the aim is the improvement of accountability, so that the king might have an accurate statement of expenditure and, by comparing it with the registers of revenue, might know at any time the state of the royal finances. It is interesting also that the three "notable personages" recommended for the task are to register the royal outlays in three separate sets of books. The accusations of unwarranted expenditures made against Semblançay probably had some effect in formulating these proposals.

There is little attention given in the document to the problem of the taxpayer, aside from perfunctory references at the begin-



ning and at the end (paras. 1 and 57). The chief concern is the king's expediency: promptness of collection and delivery, and protection of the royal income at all points. The student of modern public finance must be impressed by this complete lack of interest in tax "incidence." In one interesting passage it is implied that if a tax official has to collect less revenue from a district visited by natural calamity, he must then make up the deficiency from more fortunate districts (para. 18). The king is promised that if the proposals of this document are followed "[his] affairs will no longer be so dependent upon the state of his finances" (para. 2) or on the loans of foreign merchants (para. 5). In other words, it is the king's affairs, and especially his foreign affairs, which hold the center of the stage. He is not being asked to immerse himself in matters of finance for the sake of the nation's benefit. Given Francis's personality, this approach must have had a great appeal, as it was probably intended to do. We are still a long way from the financial reforms sponsored by eighteenth-century monarchs in their capacity as "first servants of the state."

Whatever the intentions of the author of these proposals, however, they and the reforms inspired by them mark a transformation in French public finance. By centralizing collections, and by at least partially regularizing accounting, the king provided himself with more revenue. Even more important was the subordination of the chief merchant-tax collectors to bureaucrats whose livelihood and advancement depended not on private business but on increasing the power of royal government. In effect, the body of royal financial officials now constituted another administrative arm of the king, certainly comparable in importance to the king's judicial and military power. Another foundation stone was being laid on which to rear the absolute monarchy of the seventeenth century.

The only indication we have in the manuscript itself of the time of its composition or its authorship comes in the final paragraph: *Lan mil cincq cens quinze, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521 et iusques a lan mil cinq cens vingt et deux, sans y pouvoir donner provision mon filz et moy feusmes continuellement desrobez par les gens de finances.* The tract was prepared, then, no earlier than 1522. That some of its

recommendations seem to have been acted upon in the next year, in March and again in December, suggests that it was probably prepared in the last few months of 1522 or early in 1523. An important recommendation was that respecting the appointment of a single officer to handle the ordinary revenues (para. 30), and another for the extraordinary revenues (para. 37); in effect, the legislation of 18 March 1523 and 28 December 1523 did this. Philippe de Babou was, in March, made *trésorier de l'Epargne*, responsible for the control of *les deniers casuels et inopinés*. The edict of 28 December stipulated that the income from the tallages, aids, gabelles, equivalents, and other regular sources would also pass to the *trésorier de l'Epargne*; but meanwhile the *deniers casuels* came under the control of another, and independent officer, Pierre Dapestegny.<sup>5</sup> Of greater significance in relating this manuscript to the financial legislation of 1523 is its radically new distinction between ordinary and extraordinary incomes, as noted above, since this new distinction was to receive implicit recognition in the legislation referred to.<sup>6</sup>

As for the authorship, the final paragraph quoted above, which is the only personal comment in the entire work, is a word-for-word quotation of an item to be found in the memoirs of Louise of Savoy, mother of king Francis I. In the queen's memoirs, this comment, ranging as it does from 1515 to 1522, has obviously been interpolated, since it appears between two specific items dated 14 December 1515 and 13 January 1516 respectively. It was probably written in 1522.<sup>7</sup> It is impossible to say, then, that the comment found its way into our manuscript from the memoirs, or vice versa, or indeed that it did not take its place in both documents at the same time. At all events, the association of this critical remark with Louise of Savoy is clear, and the suggestion that she was behind these financial recommendations is strengthened by the fact that Philippe de Babou, who would occupy the new office of *trésorier de l'Epargne*, had been the superintendant of her personal finances. On the other hand, the recommendations gave, in one instance, an important new area of power to the office of chancellor. This may indicate some inspiration from Antoine Duprat, the chancellor at the time, who was an implacable foe of Semblançay. Certainly, the technical

nature of the discussion indicates that the author was well versed in financial matters.

It would appear, then, that the recommendations were prepared under the aegis of the queen-mother and the anti-Semblançay faction, not too many months before March 1523.

### *Description of Manuscript*

University of Pennsylvania Library, Rare Book Room, Ms. Fr. 18; vellum, 16 ll., 17 x 11.5 cm., in original doeskin binding.

The manuscript is written in a clear round humanist hand with few abbreviations, 26 lines to the page. Paragraph signs and initial letters are gold on alternate red and blue backgrounds, and the spaces at the end of each paragraph are filled up with decorations of the same colors. Red ink is used in the text for paragraphs serving as headings (1, 10, 11, 39), and for the final paragraph (58) which stands apart. The title page has been carefully cut out, whether for the decoration it might have contained or to remove an indication of ownership is impossible to say. The latter suggestion gets some support from the obvious attempts at erasure of other indications of ownership on the inside of the binding and on the first folio.

### *Provenience of Manuscript*

A reference to contemporary ownership is found on the inside of the front cover in a two-line verse, unfortunately partly obliterated, in a sixteenth-century hand. An inscription on fol. 1r, mostly erased, gives an eighteenth century indication of ownership: “. . . Xaraquemada. Madrid. Año de 1753.” At fol. 1v is the inscription “J.M.A. 1835.” The manuscript was acquired by the University of Pennsylvania Library at a Genevan auction in March 1954 (Rauch cat. 7, no. 123).

### *A Note on Transcription*

In transcribing the manuscript, punctuation and capitalization have been modernized where necessary, and the ampersand, where it appears, is rendered *et*. Consonantal *u* is rendered *v*. The words *dict*, *dictz*, *lesdictz*, etc., are usually found with the *c*, but sometimes without, with no consistency; where such words have been abbreviated, they are rendered here with the *c*. Abbreviated words have been given in full without indication. The paragraphs are those of the original manuscript, but have been numbered for easy reference.

## Translation

[1] The clear and true plan concerning the authority of the king and the well-being of his affairs and his subjects, to be obtained by following this design according to the items contained therein.

[2] The affairs of the king will no longer be so dependent upon the state of his finances as they have been hitherto, as much as the said finances may serve to provide for his affairs.

[3] The said affairs of the king will be kept more secret than they have been, for in most cases it has happened that because of the *acquits*<sup>8</sup> desired by the financiers, for the collection of funds by means of the said *acquits*, royal policies have become known and manifest before they could be put into effect.

[4] The better the king's funds are controlled, the more promptly will his policies be carried out, and their execution will no longer have to wait upon the collection of his funds.

[5] It will no longer be fitting for foreigners to advance funds to the said lord, or make him loans, and then for the king to give out assignments<sup>9</sup> to reimburse such persons; and by following these instructions the occasion for doing this would be removed. Nor is there any personage so powerful as to extend the aforesaid loans in advance, unless he own a gold or silver mine. And in every case the king pays from then on, to the loss and reduction of his finances, in double rates, in the alienation of income, and other trumped-up claims with which one commonly associates the *acquits*.

## Transcript

(f. 2<sup>r</sup>) [1] LEMOULUMENT cler et vray concernant lauctorite du Roy, le prouffit de ses affaires et subiectz en lobseruation de ceste figure selon les articles y apposez.

[2] Les affaires du Roy ne seront plus subiectz a ses finances comme ilz ont este si davant combien que lesdictz finances soient pour soubzvenir ausdictz affaires.

[3] Lesdictz affaires du Roy seront tenuz plus secretz quilz nont este, car il est advenu le plus souvent que par les acquictz<sup>8</sup> que les financiers ont voulu avoir causes et recouvrements des deniers faictz au moyen desdictz acquictz lesdictz affaires ont este sceuz et manifestes avant que de commencer a les executer.

[4] Lesdictz affaires dudict seigneur seront plus promptement executez en tant que son argent sera content. Et ne fauldra attendre le recouvrement de ses deniers pour lesdictz affaires.

(f. 2<sup>v</sup>) [5] Il ne conviendra plus riens avancer audict seigneur par personnes estranges ne luy faire prestz. Et puis bail/ler assignments<sup>9</sup> pour le remboursements de telz personnages et en sera oustee loccasion de ainsy dire et faire. Et nya personnage si puissant qui puisse faire lesditz prestz avancements, car il na miniere dor ne dargent. Et en tout cas le Roy paie tout puis apres a la perte et diminution de ses finances en fraiz doubles en mises en tauxations et autres causes inventees dont on lieue communement acquictz.

[6] The financiers will no longer be in arrears to the king as they have been up to the very point of bankruptcy.

[7] The occasion for the loss of finances will be avoided, and the said lord will see how his money has been spent at all times, down to the last penny.

[8] The said lord will be able to plan his affairs ahead, and will easily succeed in them. He will be feared and loved by all, and his enemies will respect his wisdom, his fortune, and his wise and mature rule.

[9] That the king may have his moneys promptly and draw on them without delay, and that he may also have a clear picture of income and expenditure at all times, and avoid any expense in the collection of funds, the following is necessary.

[10] The ordinary funds in each generality consist of: tallages, or hearth-taxes; aids; imposts; equivalents; ordinary *traites*; the tax on the sale of salt in the warehouses by gabelle or otherwise, and in the *pays de quart de sel* where there are no warehouses.<sup>10</sup>

[11] The articles of tallage.

[6] Les financiers ne feront plus de restes au Roy comme ilz ont faict et iusques a banque rotte.

[7] L'occasion de perte de finances sera oustee et verra ledict seigneur iusques a ung denier ou ses finances ont este emploiez et en tout temps.

[8] Ledict seigneur verra davant luy en ses affaires, lequel facilement viendra au dessus de sesdictz affaires. Sera craint et ayme de tous et doubte par ses ennemis pour sa sagesse et providence bonne reigle par meure conduite.

(f. 3<sup>r</sup>) [9] A ce que le Roy ait ses finances promptement et dicelles il se puisse aider sans retardement; aussy quil en ait la congnoissance en tout temps tant en recepte que despens par maniere claire et eviter les fraiz a recouvrer les deniers, fault faire ce que sensuyt.

[10] Les deniers ordinaires en chascune generalite consistent en tailles autrement fouages, aides, impositions, equivalents, traittez ordinaires, vendition de sel en grenier par gabelle et autrement et on [*sic*] droit du quart du sel ou il nya grenier.<sup>10</sup>

[11] Article des tailles.



[12] That the king may know his income, it is necessary that, in the first month of the year, each general for his own district bring or send to the king a true register, signed by himself, of the amount of the tallage he apportions to be raised in each *recepte* of his generality, showing the amounts for each of these districts by quarter; and he ought to send it to the king less the wages of his receiver-general, of each receiver, and other officers; and before he can do this, to send out the necessary commissions to raise the said tallages according to the will of the king. And in the generalities where the custom is to hold estates, the said general will make the register of assessment as above, after the said estates are held.

[13] And in the generalities where there are aids, imposts, equivalents, *traites*, and other similar taxes, the general of the district where these revenues are raised will draw up a true register according to farms, showing who will collect of the *élus*<sup>11</sup> or others who will have farmed the said farms. This register he will sign and send before the end of the first quarter, as that of the tallages. Likewise respecting the *pays de quart de sel*, which will be let to farm.

[14] Respecting the gabelles and the tax on the sale of salt in the warehouses, since one cannot get an accurate estimate of the income of such gabelles and taxes on the sale of salt until the end of the year—for more salt is sold and distributed in one year than in another—the said general at the end of the year will make for his district a true register of it, which he will sign and send to the said lord, as above.

[12] Pour scavoir la recepte par le Roy, fault que chascun general en sa charge dedans le premier mois de lan apporte ou envoie devers le Roy par registre au vray signe de luy le departement quil aura fait des tailles en chascune recepte de sa generalite, contenant combien par quartier chascunne recepte monte, et en doit revenir au Roy desdictz ses gaiges de son recepveur general, de chascun recepveur, et daultre officier. Et au/paravant ce pourra faire expedier les commissions necessaires a lever lesdictz taillez selon le vouloir du Roy. Et es generalites ou lon a acoustume tenir estatz, apres lesdictz estatz tenus fera ledict general le registre de departement comme dessus.

[13] Et es generalites ou il ya aides, impostz, equivallens, traictez, et autres semblables subsides, le general ou sont levez telz deniers en fera registre au vray selon les fermes qui recouvrera des elcuz<sup>11</sup> ou autres qui auront baille lesdictz fermes; le quel signera et envoira comme celuy des taillez dedans la fin du premier quartier. Et a semblable du droit de quart du sel, le quel sera baille a ferme.

[14] Et des gabelles et sel vendu es greniers, pour ce que du prouffit de telles gabelles et vendition de sel lon ne peult avoir la vraye estimation iusques a la fin de lan, car par une annee est vendu et distribue plus de sel que en lautre, ledict general en sa charge a la fin de lannee en fera registre au vray quil signera et envoira comme dessus/devers ledict seigneur.

(f. 4<sup>r</sup>)

[15] Each general will be required to live and make his residence within his district at the most convenient place for the local receivers, the grenetiers,<sup>12</sup> and the others who have the handling of revenue; and he will have with him his receiver-general, who will likewise have his residence in the same place.

[16] The said general, for guaranty of the moneys, will take a pledge of each local receiver sufficient to equal a quarter of the revenue from his district. He will do likewise for the grenetiers and others who will have the handling of money within his district.

[17] In the statement and register of the tallages or hearth-taxes he will include the amount to be raised in the district for each quarter, less the wages by quarter of each receiver, of other officers, and of his receiver-general. He will declare this in the said register, indicating which of the receivers on whom he intends to take his own wages by quarter; so that in the said register there may appear deducted the said wages as above, and that there may appear how much there ought to come to the king net by quarter without expense, so that the king may have entirely what he requires in his commissions.

[18] The said general, before he makes his assessment, will be required to ride through his generality where needful to enquire of the officials in each locality respecting fertility, sterility, accidental circumstances or other similar misfortunes, in order to make his assessment, weighing in mind the fertility of one parish against the sterility of the other, so that there may be no diminution of the revenue of the king.

[15] Chascun general sera tenu resider et faire sa demeure en sa charge au lieu le plus commode pour les receveurs particuliers, grenetiers,<sup>12</sup> et autres qui ont le maniment des finances en recepte, et aura avec luy son recepveur general qui a semblable fera sa residence et demeure audit lieu.

[16] Ledict general pour surette des deniers prandra plaige soffisant de chascun recepveur particulier pour autant que monte ung quartier de sa recepte. Et fera semblable aux grenetiers et autres qui auront maniment de deniers en sa charge.

[17] En lestat et registre des tailles ou fouages comprendra ce que chascun quartier de recepte monte et desduira par quartier les gaiges de chascun recepveur, daultres officiers, ensemble ses gaiges de son recepveur general. Le declairera par ledit registre et sur le quel des recepveurs il entend prandre ses gaiges par quartier, en facon que par ledit registre il aparaisse desduitz lesdictz gaiges comme dessus, combien il/doibt venir au Roy de nect par chascun quartier, et sans frais, et que le Roy ait entierement ce quil demande par ses commissions.

(f. 4<sup>v</sup>)

[18] Ledict general avant faire son departement sera tenu chevaucher par sa generalite ou bien soy enquerir aux officiers des lieux de la fertilite ou sterilite, cas fortuiz, ou autres semblables tempestes, pour faire son assiette et esgallement en conscience la fertilite dune paroisse compensant la sterilite de lautre paroisse a ce quil ny ait diminution des deniers du Roy.



[19] And the register of assessment will be made so that in the first two quarters of the year there may be received two-thirds of the tallage, and the other third in the two last quarters. And the general will make of all this three identical registers, signed by himself, one of which he will send to the king as above; the second he will put in the hands of his receiver-general; and the third he will keep for himself. And should some in his district die, he will not neglect to continue the annual levy as it was established at the outset in the register.

[20] Each local receiver of the tallages or hearth-taxes will be required before the end of each quarter to carry, at his own expense, to the place and residence of the said general and his receiver-general, the moneys collected in his district for the quarter, and place them in the hands of the said receiver-general. To the local receiver will be given a discharge, signed by the said generals and receiver-general, which will be a valid receipt.

[21] And if any of the aforesaid local receivers fail to pay within each quarter, the general and his receiver-general will be able to send to him at his own expense and force him, as is usual in matters of finance, to resign, and will commit the responsibility for the district to such a person as will seem good to the general, at the expense of the said local receiver, until he may have made complete satisfaction and repaired the default.

[19] Et sera faict ledict registre et departy en sorte que es deux premiers quartiers de lan soient receus les deux tiers des tailles et lautre tiers es deux derriers quartiers. Et de tout fera ledict general trois registres semblables, signez de luy, dont lun il enuoirra au Roy comme dessus. Le second le mettra es mains de son recepueur general, et le tiers le retiendra devers luy. Et sil advient mort daulcuns de sa charge ne laissera a faire continuer lannee comme elle a este au commencee par ledict registre.

(f. 5r) [20] Chascun recepueur particulier des tailles ou fouages sera tenu dedans la fin dun chascun quartier apporter a ses despens au lieu et demeure dudidict general, et son recepueur general, les deniers que monte le quartier de sa recepte et le mettre es mains dudidict recepueur general. Au quel recepueur particulier sera baille descharge, signee desditz generaulx et recepueur general portant acquit vallable.

[21] Et si aulcun desdictz recepueurs particuliers default de paier dedans chascun quartier, le general et son recepueur general pourront envoyer devers ledict particulier a ses despens et le contraindre comme lon a acoustume en matiere de finances et abundant commettre a lexercif [*sic*] de telle recepte tel personnage qui bon semblera audict general, aux despens dudidict particulier iusques il ait satisfait entierement et amende le faultes.

[22] The said local receivers have no grounds for complaint, for before the twentieth day of the first month of each quarter it is necessary that the collectors of the tallages in the parishes bring them the collections for the quarter. And in case of the delay of the said collectors, the receivers have one month more to get after them, and they can cause to take the most seemly persons of the parishes to act as their collectors until they may be satisfied—all this at the expense of the negligent; and then there remains to them one month to bring the collections for the quarter to the said receiver-general.

[23] Furthermore, each of the local receivers of the tallages receives very high wages, as high as may be found in the district. It will be determined what is merited by the officer who gets his income from issuing quittances,<sup>13</sup> since this is an income over and above his wages. As regards the receiver-in-chief, he accumulates and receives his entire wages, save that there may be a few of them who give some little amount to their clerk, thus leaving the said receivers-in-chief free to attend to other affairs, knowing their wages are guaranteed, and they profit greatly thereby. Consequently, the said local receivers of the tallages ought to bring the moneys of their districts to the said receiver-general each quarter at their own expense, without loss to the finances of the king. And they will still derive a good income from their wages. However, respecting the receivers who have to come a long way, the general will consider their wages as compared with those who are closer, and for this reason—the distance of the places, and the consequent expense of transportation—he can increase their wages, which he will charge over and above what the king requires;<sup>14</sup> and he will make mention of this in his statement and register which he will send to the king.

(f. 5<sup>v</sup>) [22] Nont lesdictz recepveurs particuliers cause de eulx douloir car dedans le xx<sup>e</sup> du premier mois/de chascun quartier fault que les collecteurs des tailles par les paroisses leur apportent les deniers du quartier. Et en cas de delay faict par lesdictz collecteurs ont lesdictz recepveurs ung mois apres a faire leurs diligences et poursuytes et peuent [*sic*] faire prendre les plus aparens des paroisses comme lesdictz collecteurs iusques ilz soient satisfaitz. Le tout aux despens des negligens et puis leur reste ung mois a apporter les deniers du quartier audict recepveur general.

(f. 6<sup>r</sup>) [23] Ont [*sic*] davantage chascun desditz recepveurs particuliers des tailles gros grands gaiges et si opulens que soit regarde en chascune recepte. Sera trouve quelle est deservie par commis qui prend les prouffitz des quitances<sup>13</sup> qui est ung aultre proufit oultre les gaiges. Et au regard de recepveur en chef, fait venir et recoit ses gaiges entiers, sauf quil y en peut avoir aucuns qui donnent quelque peu de chose a leurdit commis et vacquent lesdictz recepveurs en chef a daultres affaires, cognoissans leurs gai/ges ne leur pover faillir, et grandement y prouffitent. Par quoy doibvent lesdictz recepveurs particuliers des tailles porter les deniers de leurs receptes a leurs despens audict recepveur general par chascun quartier sans perte de finance au Roy. Et encores leur demoura grand prouffit de leurdictz gaiges. Toutesfois, des recepveurs loingtains, ledit general regardera a leurs gaiges au esgard a ceulx qui sont plus pres et a ladite raison et distance des lieux et des sommes pour les voitures leur pourra faire augmentation de gaiges quil chargera hors ce que le Roy demande<sup>14</sup> et en fera mention par son dit estat et registre quil envoira au Roy.

[24] The said local receivers, at the end of each year, for a final accounting, will carry to the *Chambre des comptes* the commission of tallage, the assessment by signed rolls, and also the four discharges signed by the general and his receiver-general of the payments which they will have made each quarter, with the quittances of the wages of the officers in his district.

[25] As regards the income from the aids, imposts, equivalents, *traites*, *droit du quart de sel*, and other similar taxes which are, or at least ought to be, given out to farm to the highest bidder, he (the highest bidder) has the responsibility of making payment to the receiver of tallages and aids—if the receiver has the dual responsibility of tallages and aids; if not, to the receiver of aids—every half year within the month next following the said past half year; to be given by the receiver of aids into the hands of the receiver-general. To him (the receiver of aids) will be given, by the general and his receiver-general, a discharge signed by them which will serve as a receipt, just as for the receivers of the tallages. The said receivers of aids will render an account in the *Chambre des comptes* at the end of the year of the grant of farms, signed and sent by those who will have farmed the said farms, and of the said discharges.

[24] Lesdictz recepveurs particuliers chascunne annee finie pour tout compte porteront a la chambre des comptes la commission de la taille, lassiette par rolles signez, et les quatre descharges signeez desdictz generaulx et son recepveur general, des paiemens quilz auront faiz par chascun quartier avec les quittances des gaiges dofficiers en sa recepte.

f. 6v) [25] Les deniers des aides, impositions, /equivallens, traictes, droit du quart de sel, et aultres semblables subsidies, qui sont, au moins doibvent estre, baillez a ferme au plus offrant, a la charge de mettre les deniers entre les mains du recepveur des tailles et aides, sil a les deux membres des tailles et aides; si non, du recepveur desdictz aides, par les demyes annees dedans le mois prochain suyvant la dicte demye annee escheue, et baillez entre les mains dudict recepveur general, au quel par lesdictz generaulx et son recepveur sera baille descharge signee deulx qui portera acquiet comme audictz recepveurs des tailles. Et rendront compte lesdictz recepveurs des aides en la chambre des comptes lannee finie par les bailz des fermes signez et expediez de ceulx qui auront baille lesdictz fermes et par lesdictz descharges.

[26] With respect to the revenues from the gabelle and the tax on the sale of salt in the warehouses, the grenetiers will be required to bring at the end of the year the said revenues to the receiver-general, together with the fines, forfeitures, and confiscations collected during the year. And the general of the district will be guided by the record of the controller of the warehouse. And to the grenetier will be given a discharge signed by the said general and by his receiver-general, serving as a receipt.

[27] The said grenetier at the end of the year will render account in the *Chambre des comptes*, by the record of his controller, of the price of salt set by the said general, the certifications of adjustments, the quittances of the wages of the officers of the warehouse; and the charges due to the said warehouse, if such debts are outstanding from the generals, the churches, and the towns.

[28] It is to be borne in mind that the wages of the receivers of aids and of the grenetiers are not nearly so great as those of the receivers of tallages, since they may be the more difficult to raise. For this reason each general in his area may authorize reasonable expenditures to have the incomes of aids and gabelles brought to the receiver-general as above.<sup>15</sup> And of these expenditures, and how much they may amount to, he will make mention in his register, in putting what it will all come to before the king: the net incomes, less the charges, expenses, and wages of officers.

(f. 7<sup>r</sup>) [26] Et au regard des deniers venus du droit de gabelle et sel vendu en grenier, seront tenez les grenetiers apporter a la fin de lannee lesdictz deniers audict recepveur general ensemble des amendes, forfaitures et confis/cations advenues en lannee. Et ce riglera le general de la charge par le papier du contrerolleur dudict grenier. Et audict grenetier sera baille descharge signee dudict general et de son recepveur general servant daquict.

[27] Ledict grenetier lannee finie rendra compte en la chambre des comptes par le papier de son contrerolleur le priz faict par ledict general, les certifications des desentes, quittances des gaiges des officiers du grenier, et des charges deues sur ledit grenier si lesdictz charges sont continuees aux gencreaulx, aux eglises, et aux villes.

(f. 7<sup>v</sup>) [28] Est a considerer que les gaiges des recepveurs des aides et des grenetiers ne sont a beaucoup pres si grands que ceulx des recepveurs des tailles combien quil soient plus difficilles en lexcercif [*sic*]. Et pour ce soit regarde par chascun general en sa charge des fraiz raisonnables pour faire tenir lesdictz deniers des aides et gabelles entre les mains du recepveur general ainsy que dessus.<sup>15</sup> Et desdictz fraiz et /combien ilz monteront en fera mention par son registre en mettant ce quil viendra nument au Roy desdictz deniers desduictz lesdictz charges, fraiz, et gaiges dofficiers.

[29] In France there are at present seven generals, and each general has his receiver-general, viz., Languedoil for one generality; France and Picardy for the second; Normandy the third; Languedoc the fourth; Brittany the fifth; Burgundy the sixth; Guienne the seventh.

[30] In order to hold in one place the revenues of the seven generalities for the accommodation of the king in his affairs, it is necessary that the said lord name a suitable place of his choice, safe and convenient, over which he will place a personage of honesty and wide experience to whom he will give the responsibility and power to receive, quarterly and semi-annually as above, the revenues of the seven generalities. To this personage he will send each quarter a commission signed by himself and by one of the secretaries of finance confirming his power to receive the revenues from the said receivers-general, and the said commission will be inscribed in the registers sent by the said generals, showing the income from the tallages by quarter, the aids semi-annually, and the salt tax in the warehouses annually.

[31] To this personage each of the said receivers-general will be required within the month next following the quarter which is passed, to bring the revenues of the quarter according to the register of his general; and he will retain his wages by quarter. The said personage, for evidence of the delivery and as a valid receipt, will be required to give to the said receivers-general a copy of the commission of the king granting him power to receive revenues, together with the receipts signed by the local magistrate and by the said personage for what he will receive, or otherwise as it will please the king to ordain.

[29] En France y a de present sept generaulx et chascun general a son recepveur ou tresaurier general, cest asscavoir: Languedouy pour une generalite; France et Picardie pour la seconde; Normandie la tierce; Languedoc la quarte; Bretagne la quinte; Bourgougne la sexte; Guyenne la septiesme.

(f. 8<sup>r</sup>) [30] Pour faire tenir en ung lieu les deniers des sept generalitez a la commodite et aissance du Roy en ses affaires, fault que ledict seigneur nomme ung lieu convenable a son vouloir, seur et commode, ou quel il preposera ung personnage de conscience bonne et experience notable au quel il donnera charge et pover de recepvoir par les quartiers et demye annez ainsy que dessus les deniers des sept generalitez. Et au quel personnage il envoira par/chascun quartier commission signe de luy et de lun des secretaires des finances confirmant pover de recepvoir desditz recepveurs generaulx lesditz deniers. Et sera draissee ladicte commission sur les registres envoyez par lesditz generaulx pourtant que montera chascun quartier des tailles, demye annees des aides, et lannee des greniers a sel.

[31] Audict personnage chascun desditz recepveurs ou tresauriers generaulx sera tenu dedans le mois prouchain suyvant le quartier escheu apporter les deniers du quartier selon le registre de son general et retiendra ses gaiges par quartier. Le quel personnage pour enseignement et acquiet vallable ausditz recepveurs generaulx sera tenu bailler le double de la commission du Roy contenant son pover de recepvoir avec recepceiz signez du iuge du lieu et dudict personnage ce quil recepvra, ou aultrement comme il plaira audict seigneur en ordonner.



[32] The said receivers-general receive high wages, since they are required to collect the revenues of areas in which they are accountable at their own expense; but instead of making such collections at their own expense they will now be required to bring, at their own expense, the income of their districts to the said treasurer-general, and they will still derive a good income.

[33] To render the annual account, each receiver-general will be required to present in the *Chambre des comptes* the registers of his general together with the duplicates of the aforesaid commission and receipts of the treasurer-general, signed as specified above, of all the revenues in the year.

[34] It will be expedient for the said personage, the treasurer-general, to be moved and changed every year, so that he might be accountable at the pleasure and will of the king.

[35] The local receivers and the grenetiers will be accountable to the receivers-general, and the receivers-general to the treasurer-general, so that the ordinary revenues will come to the king without any expenses for collecting them; and the said lord will know what he will have in his treasury. So much for the ordinary revenues.

[36] Respecting the generals; for them to earn their wages they will be required to go throughout their districts to see if the collectors of the tallages have raised the revenues according to the assessments of the rolls, and if the said rolls agree and conform to the commissions granted and the assessment made by the said general. And the remainder of their responsibilities the king will retain for himself and for those charged by him to dispose of his funds.

(f. 8<sup>v</sup>) [32] Lesditz recepveurs generaulx ont gros gaiges pource quilz sont tenus recouvrer les deniers de ce dont ilz sont/comptables a leur despens. Et ou lieu de faire telz recouvrements a leurs despens seront tcnus apporter a leursditz despens les deniers de leurs charges audict tresaurier general, sur leurs gaiges et encores y proufiteront grandement.

[33] Et pour reddition de compte lannee finie chascun recepveur general sera tenu presenter en la chambre des comptes les registres de son general, avec les doubles desdictes commission et recepcez du personnage tresaurier general de toutes les finances en lannee signez comme dessus.

[34] Sera expedient que ledict personnage tresaurier general soit mue et change tous les ans a ce quil puisse rendre son compte au plaisir et vouloir du Roy.

(f. 9<sup>r</sup>) [35] Les recepveurs particuliers et grenetiers rendront comptables les recepveur [sic] generaulx, et les recepveurs generaulx le tresaurier general par ainsy les deniers ordinaires viendront au Roy sans aulcuns fraiz a les recouvrer./Et scavra ledict seigneur quil aura en fonds de finances. Et ce touchant les deniers ordinaires.

[36] Et au regard des contrerolleurs generaulx pour gaigner leurs gaiges seront tenuz aller par leur charge veoir si les collecteurs des tailles ont leve les deniers selon les assietes des rolles et si lesditz rolles reviennent par ensemble et se conforment aux commissions ottroiees et departement faict par ledit general. Et le reste de leur charge le Roy le retient a luy et a ceulx par luy commis a faire la distribution de ses deniers.

[37] As for raising the extraordinary revenues which come to the king, such as the sale of vacant offices, temporalities of benefices where the king takes the income, the right of *régale*, *aubaines*,<sup>16</sup> abandoned goods, income from fiefs, confiscations, forfeitures, fines, sea-wreckage, sales, extraordinary *traictes*, gifts and presents made to the king by his subjects, and other casual incomes; the king will commit them to a notable personage who will remain at his court; and to him will be brought all such moneys from extraordinary revenue; and for this the chancellor will be his controller. There will be nothing done or received without the seal of the said chancellor, to whom the said official will be required to give his receipts as he will receive them, and the chancellor having obtained the receipts will then seal the letters of office or acquittances for casual funds for the groups or individuals concerned. The chancellor will keep a register of all this quarterly, which he will present to the king, signed by himself and by the said official, to which official he will return his receipts and will make mention of it in the register in having him sign the said register. And to cause the said revenues to come into the hands of the said official, and to effect that which will fall to him to do, commissions will be sent to the local magistrates, who will come or who will send to the court before the said chancellor in order to witness the commission executed.

[38] The said official in charge of extraordinary funds will render account at the pleasure of the king by the register of the chancellor respecting receipts and disbursements made by command of the king.

[39] The manner of carrying out the expenditure of funds, both ordinary and extraordinary, reasonably and clearly.

(f. 9<sup>r</sup>) [37] Et quant a lever les deniers qui viennent extraordinaires au Roy comme offices vaccans, temporalite de benefices ou le Roy faict les fruitz siens, droiz de regalle, aubenes,<sup>16</sup> biens vaccans, prouffitz de fiefz, confiscations, forfaitures, amendes, naufrages en marine, venditions, traictes extraordinaires, dons et otroiz fais au Roy par ses subiectz, et aultres casuelz; le Roy y commettra ung notable personnage qui le suyva/et luy seront apportez telz prouffitz de deniers extraordinaires. Et de ce sera son contrerolleur le chancelier. Et ny sera riens faict ne receu sans le sceu dudict chancelier au quel ledit commis sera tenu bailler ses recepices ainsi quil recoivra, et le chancelier estant saisi du recepice sellera les lettres doffices ou daquictz des casuelz pour les comitez ou personnes qui en seront chargez ou en feront poursuyte. Et de tout fera ledict chancelier registre de quartier en quartier quil presentera au Roy signe de luy et dudict commis au quel commis il rendra ses recepices et en fera mention en luy faisant signer ledict registre par ycelluy registre. Et pour faire venir lesdictz deniers entre les mains dudict commis et exercer ce que y escherra a faire, seront envoiees les commissions au iuges ordinaires de lieux qui viendront ou enverront en court devers ledict chancelier pour y regarder la commission executee.

(f. 10<sup>r</sup>) [38] Ledit commis a lexttraordinaire rendra compte au bon plaisir du Roy par le registre du/chancelier, quant a la recepte et quant a la despence par les ordonnances du Roy.

[39] La maniere de faire la despence et expendre les deniers tant ordinaires que extraordinaires par raison et mesure bonne et claire.



[40] Respecting the registers sent to him by each general, viz., tallages or hearth-taxes, aids, and gabelles, as laid out in the section dealing with revenues, the king will retain in his treasury the originals of the said registers signed by each general in his district and by one of the secretaries of finance or another personage who will seem good to him. He will cause two copies of the said registers to be made. These copies he will sign, and will have one of his secretaries of finance sign. And one of these he will send to the *Chambre des comptes*, where it is usual for the local receivers, the grenetiers, and the receiver-general of the generality to settle their accounts. The other copy he will place in the hands of three notable personages of experience, approved by him, who each will be able to make a copy for himself. But that given to them by the king they will be required to keep, and be responsible for producing it when they are so required.

[41] And in the same way will the king handle the registers of the extraordinary incomes, which will be given to him by the chancellor in the same manner as the registers of the generals.

[42] The said three personages will follow the king, and will meet together when affairs require it and they are called by the king to his council; and they will dispose of the funds according to the will of the said lord and his council. No one of them will be able to act without the other two.

[43] Each of them will keep a separate register, which he will keep personally, of the amounts which will have been ordered spent, either by command of the king or on their own responsibility, either ordinary or extraordinary.

(f. 10\*) [40] Le Roy, des registres a luy envoie par chascun general, cest a scavoir, des tailles ou fouages, des aides, et des gabelles, selon quil est contenu en la maniere de recepvoir, retiendra en ses coffres les originaulx desdictz registres signez de chascun general en sa charge, et par lun des secretaires de ses finances ou autre personnage qui bon luy semblera. Fera faire deux doubles desdictz registres. Lesquiculx doubles il signera et fera signer a lun des secretaires de ses finances. Et lun diceulx envoira en la chambre des comptes ou ont acoustume compter les recepveurs particuliers, grenetiers, et recepveur general de la generalite. Et lautre double mettra es mains de trois notables personages par luy approuvez et experimen/tez qui en pourront avoir chascun ung double, mais celuy a eulx baille par le Roy le feront garder a la charge de le représenter quant ilz en seront requis.

[41] Et autant en sera faict par le Roy de registres de lextraordinaire des deniers qui luy seront baillez par le chancelier comme des registres des gencreaulx.

[42] Lesdictz trois personages suyvront le Roy et se assembleront par ensemble quant les affaires surviendront et quilz seront appellez par le Roy en son conseil, et disposeront des deniers selon le vouloir dudict seigneur et sondit conseil. Ne pourront riens faire lun sans les deux aultres.

[43] Que chascun deulx fera registre apart quil aura devers soy de ce qui aura este ordonne en despence de finances tant par le Roy que par eulx tant ordinairement que extraordinairement.

[44] They have the power to provide for ordinary matters, but not for the extraordinary without the order of the king.

[45] This will be said and considered to be ordinary among the said three personages: what it will please the king to declare to them to be ordinary, of which he will draw up a budget, as the budget of his household, wages of officers, of the guard, the *chambre aux deniers*, *argenterie*, stables, charities, *vanneries*, falconry.<sup>17</sup> Extraordinary expenditures will be: pensions, payments of the national troops, artillery, fortification and repair of places, victualling, munitions, gifts and other similar cases in which nothing will be done without the order of the king.

[46] For the ordinary expenditures, at the end of each quarter there will be brought to the three personages the true statement, signed and sent by those to whom it appertains and who will have charge of it, of quarterly needs such as those of the royal household, the *argenterie*, and the stable, for which the said personages will make the appropriate assignments.

[44] Leur povoir sera quilz pourront pourveoir aux choses ordinaires et aux affaires extraordinaires non sans le commandement du Roy.

(f. 11<sup>r</sup>) [45] Ce sera dict et estime ordinaire entre lesditz trois personaiges quil plaira au Roy leur declairer estre ordinaire, dont il fera estat, comme lestat de sa maison, gaiges dofficiers, gardes, chambres aux deniers, argenterie, escurie, ausmousnes, vannerie, faulconnerie.<sup>17</sup> Des cas extraordinaires seront estimez pensions, paiemens de gendarmes, artillerie, fortifications et reparations de places, envitaillemens, munitions, dons, et aultres semblables cas, esquieulx ny sera riens faict sans le commandement du Roy.

[46] Pour les deniers ordinaires chascun quartier fini sera aporte ausditz trois personaiges lestat au vray signe et expedie par ceulx a qui il appartient et qui en ont la charge de ce que monte le quartier comme chambre aux deniers, argenterie, et escurie, a ce que lesditz personaiges baillent assignations ainsi quilz verront estre asseure.

[47] The assignment of the ordinary funds will be made by a discharge<sup>18</sup> forwarded by the said three personages to the said treasurer-general, who will be required and ordered by this discharge to take quittance of the said officer or official, and to make the payments of such ordinary funds as specified in the discharge. He will be required to give a receipt signed by himself and one of the secretaries of the king with the said discharge when receiving funds from the said treasurer-general to whom the discharge will be addressed, or from another, such as the official in charge of extraordinary receipts, if the said discharge is addressed to him.

[48] With respect to the case where the king would wish to spend "extraordinarily" for his affairs, the said three personages will observe what the king will order, and will register it in their accounts.

[49] In the case of secret affairs, there will be ordered to be given to such and such a person the sum of so much, without disclosing the reason, except for these words or some other similar words: that the king has ordered that such a person be given funds to use as he has been instructed, for which he will be required to report to the said lord after his mission has been carried out. When the person returns, the king will be able to examine the matter, or cause to have it examined by the said three personages or by others whom he would wish, who will examine the account of the said person to see if the sum of money has been well used and if there is any left over.

(f. 11<sup>v</sup>) [47] Lassignation des deniers ordinaires sera baille par descharge<sup>18</sup> ex/pedie par lesdictz trois personnaiges la quelle ilz adresseront au dit tresorier general, et sera cause et par ycelle mande prendre quittance dudict officier ou commis a faire les paiemens de tel ordinaire nomme en ladicte descharge, le quel sera tenu bailler recepice signe de luy et de lun des secretaires du Roy avec ladicte descharge en recepvant deniers dudict tresaurier general, au quel sera adresse ladicte descharge ou de aultre, comme du commis a lextaordinaire des deniers si ladicte descharge y est adresse.

[48] Et au regard de ce que le Roy voudra dependre extraordinairement pour ses affaires lesditz trois personnages observeront ce que le Roy mandra et le registeront en leurs papiers.

(f. 12<sup>r</sup>) [49] Et pour le cas et affaires secretz, sera mande baillez a tel personnage la somme de tant, sans declairer la cause fors par ces motz ou aultre semblables, que le Roy a ordonne luy estre baille pour employer ainsy que luy a commande, dont il sera tenu ap/porter lampliacion des deniers audict seigneur, laffaire execute. Et ledict personnage retourne, ledict seigneur y pourra regarder ou faire regarder par lesditz trois personnages ou aultres quil voudra, qui verront le compte dudict personnage et si la somme a este bien employee et sil y a de reste.

[50] The said lord at the least expense will be able, through one of his captains or *maîtres d'hôtel*, accompanied by some of the archers of his guard, to send to his treasurer-general for whatever sum he wishes. But above all, to avoid confusion and that there be no fraud, the sum which he will send for is to be registered by the said three personages whom he will ordinarily have with him; and all will be well as a result.

[51] At the end of each quarter the said three personages will meet and will review in their registers the expenditures made, both ordinary and extraordinary, by order of the king. They will tell the king of such expenditures so that he may know the true state of his finances, which he will be able to do easily enough in seeing the account in each register of the ordinary and extraordinary expenditures quarterly, and comparing them with the registers of income.

[52] The king, with the said three personages, ought to see to it that he may always have in reserve the pay for thirty thousand infantry for three months, easy enough to do by keeping the revenues of the first quarter and making the assignments against the income of the second quarter, and so on by quarter.

[50] Ledict seigneur a moindre fraictz pourra par lung de ses capitaines ou maistres d'hostel acompaignez daulcuns des archiers de ses gardes envoyer querir telle somme que bon luy semblera a sondict tresaurier general. Mais sur tout pour eviter confusion et quil ne soit surprins, que la somme quil envoira querir soit registree par lesditz trois personages quil aura ordinairement avec luy et bien sen trouvera.

(f. 12\*) [51] Chascun quartier fini lesditz trois personnaiges se assembleront et regarderont par leurs registres la despence faicte tant ordinairement que extraordinairement par le commandement du Roy. Et de ladite despence en avertiront le Roy, a ce quil sa/che au vray lestat de ses finances, ce quil fera facilement en voyant combien monte chascun registre par quartier tant des deniers ordinaires que extraordinaires, rapportez aux registres de la recepte.

[52] Le Roy avec lesditz trois personages doibvent faire en sorte quil ait tousiours en reserve la souldie de trente mille hommes de pied pour trois moys, ce que sera faict facilement en gardant le premier quartier et baillant le commencement des assignations sur le second quartier et consecutivement ce faisant par les quartiers.

[53] It is necessary that such assignments be made by quarter and not at the beginning of the year for the whole year, as it has been the custom to do for the cases which come up in the year; and even if this is more troublesome, confusion will always be avoided, and the state of finances will always be clear. And it is better to make the assignment from ordinary funds quarterly together with the extraordinary which are paid throughout the year, such as pensions and other similar payments. For by the old system the money of the king was already spent or considered as spent at the beginning of the year, because of the discharges issued immediately the budget of the king was made. And then it happened that those given the discharges would change through death or other causes whence followed confusion which has caused in part the business of the *acquits*, all of which is bad and confusing. The king will do well to forbid the issuance of *acquits* except in the case where it is a question of gift. As for the funds collected but not yet turned in, whether ordinary or extraordinary, there ought to be made rolls or scrolls of what payments have been made, signed by those to whom the king will give power to do so, including the quittances according to the said rolls or scrolls.

[54] The said register of the aforesaid three personages will be of assistance in making the budget of the king; and at the end of the year it will be signed, verified, and closed off by the said three personages, and sent by the king to the *Chambre des comptes* in order to check the accounts of those accountable named therein.

(f. 13<sup>r</sup>) [53] Et est besoing que telles assignations soient baillez par les quartiers, et non au commencement delannee pour tout lan, ainsy que lon a acoustume faire pour les cas qui surviennent sur lannee. Et suppose que ce soit plus grande peine, toutesfois sera evitee confusion et le fonds des finances sera tousiours cler. Et est meilleur bailler lassignation par quartier des deniers ordinaires ensemble des ex/traordinaires qui sont continuez en lan comme pensions et autres semblables. Car par la mode ancienne, l'argent du Roy estoit ia despendu, aumoins tenu comme despendu, des le commencement de lan, au moyen que incontinent lestat du Roy faict estoient levez descharges. Et puy advenoit que les assignez par lesdictz descharges changeoient par mort ou autres causes dont ensuyvoit confusion qui a cause en partie la matiere de lever acquictz laquelle forme nest bonne et est chose obscure. Et le Roy fera bien de deffendre telz acquictz, fors ou il sera question de don. Et quant au reste tant des deniers ordinaires que extraordinaires doivent estre fais rolles ou escroues des paiemens expediez et signez par ceulx ausquieulx le Roy donnera pouvoir ce faire, garniz de quittances selon lesdictz rolles et escroues.

(f. 13<sup>v</sup>) [54] Ledict registre desdictz trois personages servira destat au Roy. Et lannee finie, sera signe arreste et cloix par lesdictz trois personages, et envoie par le Roy en la chambre des comptes/pour faire comptes les comptables nommez en ycelluy.



[55] The treasurer-general and the official in charge of the extraordinary funds will render account in the said *Chambre* of the accounts of all those who handle the expenditure of royal funds, and each will be paid.

[56] The king, by comparing the said registers of the three personages with the registers of the local collection districts, will easily see in what state his finances will be, what remains of his funds, and also who holds collected funds not yet brought in.

[57] At the end of each quarter the said lord will be able, if he likes, to take back, by a commission signed by himself and one of his secretaries of finance, the money which remains in the hands of either the said treasurer-general or the official in charge of extraordinary funds—that money which will remain after the expenditures and assignments have been made from it in that quarter. And he will cause the money to be put in some safe place for the assistance of his affairs when necessary, or the easement of his people. And he will no longer be forced to increase the taxes of his people during the year. He will notify the said three personages of this money which he will have caused to be recovered, who will record it apart so that they assign nothing in error.

[58] The year 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521, and up to the year 1522, my son and I have constantly been robbed by the financiers, without being able to do a thing about it.

[55] Le tresaurier general et le commis aux deniers extraordinaires rendront comptes en ladicte chambre des comptes tous ceulx qui auront en maniment des deniers du Roy en despence, et sera chascun paye.

[56] Le Roy, par lesdictz registres desdictz trois personages rapporteez aux registres de recepte, verra facilement en quel estat seront ces finances, et ce qui sera reserve desdictz finances ensemble qui aura lesdictz restes.

[57] Ledict seigneur pourra, si bon luy semble ala fin de chascun quartier, lever par commission signee de luy et de lun des secretares de ses finances largent qui sera trouve es mains tant dudict tresaurier general que du commis aux deniers extraordinaires que sera en oultre la despence faicte et assignments baillez sur eulx audict quartier. Et fera mettre ledict argent en quelque lieu seur pour soubzvenir a ses affaires en necessite ou soulaigement de son peuple./Et ne sera plus contrainct mettre creues sur sondit peuple durant lan. Et dudit argent quil aura faict lever en advertira lesditz trois personaiges qui en feront registre a part a ce quilz ne assignent aulcun a faulte.

[58] Lan mil cincqscinquize, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, et iusques a lan mil cinq cens vingt et deux. Sans y pouvoir donner provision mon filz et moy feusmes continuellement desrobez par les gens de finances.

(f. 14<sup>r</sup>)

## NOTES

1. Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, vol. V, part I (by Henry Lemonnier), p. 237.
2. On financial institutions of France up to the sixteenth century, see Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, *Etudes sur les institutions financières de la France à la fin du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1930-1932, 2 vols.
3. Alfred Spont, *Semblançay (?-1527): la bourgeoisie financière au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1895, p. 197.
4. The *taille* was an exception. The oldest of the regularly collected "extraordinary" taxes, it was not farmed out. The parishes had the duty of providing a collector each year who raised the stipulated amount from his fellow parishioners, deducted only his expenses, and turned the remainder over to the local receiver. All the collector of the tallage got for his trouble was temporary status as a royal official, which might mean the important favor of being exempted from other taxes. In addition the collector had the right of determining the fraction of the tallage to be paid by each parishioner, and of course he would not assess himself too heavily.
5. G. Jacqueton, "Le Trésor de l'Epargne sous François I<sup>er</sup> (1523-1547)," *Revue historique*, LV (1894): 1-22. Francis I's letter of 18 March has been published by A. de Boislisle, "Semblançay et la surintendance des finances," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, XVIII (1881): 245-7; the edict of 28 December by Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, XII (1827): 222-8 (no. 119).
6. This new distinction in the legislation was noted by G. Jacqueton, *art. cit.*, p. 20.
7. In Petitot, *Collection complète des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, XVI (1820): 399; cf. Henri Hauser, "Comment Louise de Savoie a rédigé son journal," *Revue du seizième siècle*, I (1913): 50-54, and *idem*, "Le Journal de Louise de Savoie," *Revue historique*, LXXXVI (1904): 280-303.
8. *Acquitiz*: an order to pay, drawn by the king on a financial paying agent in favor of a third party. This usually was counted as an "extraordinary" expenditure, that is, one not envisaged in advance by the king or chancellor, e.g., a gift. An order to pay in the course of "ordinary" expenditure was known as a *décharge*.
9. *Assignations*: grants by the king to creditors of the income from one of the domanial resources or national taxes. This was an all-too-usual manner of paying off debts in medieval and early modern times.



10. *Impositions, traites*: both refer to tariffs, export as well as import. *Equivalents*: some provinces were allowed to pay a lump sum, an "equivalent," in place of the excise taxes (*aides*). This was regarded as a favor, since it relieved commerce of a burden. *Pays de quart de sel*: in some provinces the king had the right to a fixed tax on a fourth or a fifth of a quintal of salt per year per "hearth," regardless of how much salt was actually purchased.
11. *Elus*: originally the collector of the *tailles* was selected by "election" among the persons who paid the tax. By the mid-fourteenth century there was no more significance to the term; a collector who had bid for the farm was likely to be called an *élu* and his district an *élection*.
12. *Grenetier*: the official in charge of the warehouse (*grenier*) where the salt was kept; therefore, by extension, the collector of the *gabelle*.
13. *Quittances*: a receipt given by a creditor of the king upon being paid by one of the disbursing officials; that is, the statement acknowledging payment of an *acquit* or *décharge*. The income referred to would be the clerk's fee, as a scribe, for writing out the receipts.
14. In other words, he will allow for this increase in wages in his assessment in such a way as not to reduce the amount demanded in the royal commission.
15. In other words, while the receipts of the tallage are carried to the collecting point at the expense of the receivers, those of the aids and gabelles are diminished by the costs of transportation.
16. *Aubaine*: the right of the king to the goods of a foreigner who dies in his domains.
17. *Chambre aux deniers*: the treasury of the king's household. *Argenterie*: the office in charge of the royal jewels, plate, and furniture. *Van-nerie*: this is obscure. Literally "basketry," it could refer to the office in charge of providing utensils for the king's table and kitchen.
18. See above, note 8.

# Dr. Charles Caldwell's Inscription to Joseph Priestley

NEDA M. WESTLAKE \*

CHARLES CALDWELL, who later became the founder of the Medical Department at Transylvania University and the first medical professor of the University of Louisville, inscribed the University of Pennsylvania copy of one of his books for Joseph Priestley. The *Medical and Physical Memoirs, containing . . . a particular enquiry into the origin and Nature of the Late Pestilential Epidemics . . .* (Philadelphia, 1801) was dedicated to the students of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, where Dr. Caldwell had received his degree in 1796. Joseph Priestley, who had been welcomed as one of America's most illustrious immigrants in 1794, was living in semi-retirement at Northumberland when he received this book from his young admirer. The volume was later in the library of Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, Philadelphia physician and author, who presented it to the University.

*To Dr. Priestley from  
his obedient, and humble servant  
The author*

In these *Memoirs*, Dr. Caldwell disposed of some of the current theories of the cause of yellow fever with the conclusion that the disease was neither contagious nor imported, but was only a modification of common bilious fever.

This essay recalls Caldwell's relationship with Dr. Benjamin Rush, because the theory of domestic origin of yellow fever was almost the only concept on which the two men agreed. In his *Autobiography* (Philadelphia, 1855), Caldwell traced his long association with the faculty of the Medical School at Pennsylvania, from his student days through twenty years of zealous endeavor on his part to secure an appointment to that faculty. His strongest admirer could not claim either modesty or a pacific pen for Dr. Caldwell. His early enthusiasm for Rush (admittedly fostered by his professional ambition) rapidly changed to antagonism

\* University of Pennsylvania Library.

when Rush and his colleagues let it become plain that the young man's aggressive attack on Rush in print and in conversation was not calculated to advance him in Philadelphia professional circles.

The immediate occasion of their difference was Caldwell's assertion that Rush had not given him proper credit for the "discovery" that immersion in water or a brisk walk in the rain were salutary for a fever. There is no reason to doubt Caldwell's account of the verbal exchange that followed nor his subsequent behavior to Rush, since he related it with obvious relish and pride. However, he chose a doughty opponent; Dr. Benjamin Rush was not known among his associates for a meek and gentle disposition, and his reaction would have been sufficient, had there not been other reasons, to bar the young man from the medical faculty. This initial incident led to more serious disputes in later years, when Caldwell became violently opposed to the inclusion of chemistry in the medical curriculum, an attitude which he carried to Transylvania and Louisville, perhaps to the detriment of medical education in the West.<sup>1</sup> The Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania were of Caldwell's persuasion, and it is not surprising, in view of Caldwell's personal feeling, to learn that Rush, Physick, and Wistar strongly opposed the omission of chemistry, nor that Rush had held the chair of chemistry for twenty years.

The final note of human association resides in Caldwell's inscription here to Priestley whom Caldwell admired, in spite of the fact that the views of both Priestley and Rush were in perfect agreement on the importance of chemistry in medical education. In 1794 Priestley had regretfully refused the chair of chemistry at Pennsylvania which his devoted friend, Benjamin Rush, had held before he was chosen as "professor of theory and practice of physic" in the College—the position which Caldwell had coveted.

However, it must be noted, to Caldwell's lasting credit, that he was almost the sole supporter of Rush when he braved the disapproval of others of his profession in claiming that the disastrous plagues of yellow fever in Philadelphia in the 1790's had not been imported as an infection, but originated from some condition in the city itself.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. S. Klickstein, "Charles Caldwell and the controversy in America over Liebig's 'Animal Chemistry,'" *Chymia*, 4 (1953): 129-157.

# Aristotle Texts and Commentaries to 1700 in the University of Pennsylvania Library

## *A Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts*

LYMAN W. RILEY\*

### PART I

#### *Introduction*

THE number of early printed books pertaining to Aristotle in the University of Pennsylvania Library has grown from the ten editions listed in its 1829 *Catalogue* to more than 400, and, in addition, includes almost forty manuscripts. Major credit for the size and quality of this collection must be given to Dr. Charles W. Burr, graduate of the College and Medical School and for many years professor in the latter. In 1932, a year after his retirement, Dr. Burr gave his library of 19,000 volumes to the University; a bequest later established a generous fund for the purchase of more books. His benefactions had begun before 1932, however, and continued long after. He kept a careful eye on the rare book market and purchased many valuable items for the Library. His presentations were always unostentatious; he would often drop unannounced into the Library and quietly place an important fifteenth- or sixteenth-century book on the librarian's desk with the remark that the Library might be interested in it. Aristotle was a favorite subject with him. His gifts ranged over the whole field of Aristotle's writings, with perhaps particular attention to the early editions in Greek.

After Dr. Burr's death in 1944 the Library continued to add to the substantial collection that he had established, filling in gaps and rounding it out so as to make it increasingly useful to scholars and bibliographers. Special attention has been paid to the non-scientific writings, for Philadelphia already has in the Library of the College of Physicians a fine collection of Aristotelian science. The University Library is interested in adding lesser known translations of the texts and in building up the number of commentaries represented. The list presented here includes books and

\* University of Pennsylvania Library.

manuscripts produced to the year 1700, although most of them are from the sixteenth century.

The only comprehensive Aristotle bibliography now available is Moïse Schwab's *Bibliographie d'Aristote* (Paris, 1896); valuable as this is for its relative completeness and for its index of editors and commentators, the brevity of its descriptions, necessary in view of its scope, limits its usefulness. The Aristotle sections of the published catalogues of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale and of the *Deutscher Gesamtkatalog* are the only other lists with any degree of completeness. Volume 2 of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* includes a good many of the fifteenth-century editions of texts, but others are entered under the authors of the accompanying commentary and therefore are not described in this as yet incomplete work. Only the *General Catalogue of Printed Books* of the British Museum groups all books containing the texts of Aristotle's works, whether accompanied by commentary or not, under one heading. This practice has been adopted for our own list.

It is hoped that this catalogue will be useful as a supplement to those noted above. We shall not try, at this time, to evaluate the over-all quality of the collection. In strictly numerical terms, however, it is worth noting that this list adds considerably to the only other one that is similarly organized, that of the British Museum. For the same three centuries covered here, the British Museum contains almost 700 editions of Aristotle texts, both collected and single works, while the University has but 240. Yet about one-third of the University's editions are not found in the British Museum. In making a comparison on the basis of one important text alone, the *Ethica Nicomachea*, the proportion is found to be roughly the same (71 in the British Museum, 27 in the University of Pennsylvania Library, including ten not in the British Museum). These comparisons accent the possible uses to be made of our catalogue, beyond providing locations for many rare and uncommon items; it also emphasizes the quantity of Aristotelian literature that came from the printing press during its early existence.

The Library's collection is designed to serve the needs of students of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It presents evi-



dence of the continuance of the Aristotelian tradition throughout the Renaissance. In it can be found thirteenth-century as well as the newer Renaissance Latin translations of Aristotle. Renaissance humanists such as Bruni, Vettori, Bēssariōn, Toletus, Sepulveda, Le Fèvre d'Étaples, and Johann Eck worked on Aristotle's writings as editors, commentators, and translators, and the results of their labors are displayed. The requirements of university scholars called many of these books into being, and manuscript annotations attest their use as textbooks.<sup>1</sup>

Since only books pertaining directly to works by Aristotle have been selected for this list a number of others closely related to Aristotelianism—for instance, the treatises on logic of William Ockham and Petrus Hispanus—have been excluded. We hope that at a later time the Library can issue a check list of all its fifteenth- and sixteenth-century imprints in order to provide greater bibliographical aid than is attempted here.

In the following list editors and translators have been given whenever possible, except for the Complete Works and Selected Works. Unless otherwise stated the identification of a medieval translator is that found in G. Lacombe, *Aristoteles Latinus: Codices*, (Rome and Cambridge, 1939–1955). The spurious and doubtful works are listed alphabetically with the genuine. Cross-references are made for several works issued together but listed under the first, and for titles contained in the Selected Works.

There is no accepted standard for the forms of the titles of Aristotle's writings. Some of the variant forms are given here as cross-references; more of them, as well as Greek forms, can be found in the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale catalogues and the *Deutscher Gesamtkatalog*.

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- Renouard, *Colines* RENOUARD, PHILIPPE, *Bibliographie des éditions de Simon de Colines*, 1520-1546, Paris, 1894.

Ritter, <i>Répertoire</i>	STRASBOURG. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE ET UNIVERSITAIRE, <i>Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en Alsace au 16<sup>me</sup> siècle de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg</i> , Strasbourg, 1945–1950. 3 vols.
Ruelens	RUELENS, CHARLES, <i>Annales Plantiniennes depuis la fondation de l'imprimerie Plantinienne à Anvers jusqu'à la mort de Chr. Plantin (1555–1589)</i> , Paris, 1866.
Sander	SANDER, MAX, <i>Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530</i> , Milan, 1942. 6 vols.
Schreiber	SCHREIBER, WILHELM, <i>Un catalogue des incunables à figures imprimés en Allemagne, en Suisse, en Autriche-Hongrie et en Scandinavie</i> , Berlin, 1910–1911.
Schwab	SCHWAB, MOÏSE, <i>Bibliographie d'Aristote</i> , Paris, 1896.
Simon	SIMON, A. L., <i>Bibliotheca Bacchica</i> , vol. 2. Paris, 1932.
STC	POLLARD, A. W., <i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, &amp; Ireland, &amp; of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640</i> , London, 1926.
Stillwell	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA, <i>Incunabula in American Libraries; a second Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Owned in the United States, Mexico, and Canada</i> , Edited by Margaret Bingham Stillwell, New York, 1940.
Vanderhaeghen	VANDERHAEGHEN, FERDINAND, <i>Bibliotheca erasmiana; Répertoire des oeuvres d'Erasme</i> , Ghent, 1893.
Voulliéme (K)	VOULLIÉME, ERNST, <i>Der Buchdruck Kölns bis zum Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts</i> , Bonn, 1903.
Willems	WILLEMS, ALPHONSE, <i>Les Elzevier; histoire et annales typographiques</i> , Brussels, 1880.

## Catalogue

### COMPLETE WORKS

#### a. Greek

1. *Complete works; edited by Aldus Manutius and Alexander Bondinus*. Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495–1498. 5v. in 6. Fol.  
GW 2334; Stillwell A858; Renouard, *Aldus*, pp. 7–8.
2. Ἀριστοτέλους ἅπαντα. Aristotelis . . . opera quaecunq[ue] impressa hactenus extiterunt omnia . . . Edited by Desiderius Erasmus and Simon Grynaeus. Basel, J. Bebel & M. Isengrin, 1539. 2v. in 1. Fol.  
Vanderhaegen, pt. 2, p. 10.
3. ————. Basel, J. Bebel & M. Isengrin, 1550. 2v. in 1. Fol.

This edition has notes and emendations by Justus Velsius, Matthias Flacius, Konrad Gesner, and Pietro Vettori. Vanderhaegen, pt. 2, p. 10.

4. *Complete works; edited by Giovanni Battista Camozzi, with prefaces by Federico Torresani.* Venice, "apud Aldi filios, expensis . . . Federici de Turrisanis," 1551(–1553). 5v. 8vo.

This edition has no general title page; each volume has a special title page with contents in Greek and Latin. The sixth volume (dated 1552) containing works by Theophrastus is not in the University's collection. Renouard, *Aldus*, p. 150.

5. *Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ εὗρισκόμενα.* Aristotelis opera quae exstant. Addita nonus[uam] ob argumenti similitudinem quaedam Theophrasti, Alexandri, Cassii . . . *Edited by Friedrich Sylburg.* Frankfurt, "Apud Andreae Wecheli heredes, Claudium Marnium, & Ioannem Aubrium," 1584–1587. 11v. in 5. 8vo.

Preliminary matter (44 pp. including general title) is bound with vols. 1 and 2. The volumes, each unnumbered and with special title, were also issued separately. Vol. 8 is not in the original (1584) edition but in the 1596 reprint. A variorum edition; contents are listed in full in *Deutscher Gesamtkatalog* 6:5898.

#### b. Greek and Latin

6. *Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦ Σταγειριτοῦ τὰ σωζόμενα.* Operum Aristotelis Stagiritae Philosophorum omnium longe principis, noua editio . . . ex bibliotheca Isaaci Casauboni . . . Lyons, J. Bubonius [according to Baudrier, I, 239, this was printed in Geneva by G. Laemarius], 1590. 2v. in 1. Fol.

7. ———. Accesserunt huic editioni Kyriaci Strozae libri duo politicorum graecolatini, in quibus ea quae ab Aristotele in 8. libris explicata non fuerunt, persequitur . . . Geneva, P. de la Roviére, 1605. 2v. Fol.

8. ———. *Edited by Giulio Pace.* Geneva, P. de la Roviére, 1607. v. 1 (of 2). 8vo.

Vol. 2 (not in the University's collection) is dated 1606. This edition does not contain the additions by Ciriaco Strozzi.

#### c. Latin

9. Aristotelis Stagiritae . . . Opera quae quidem extant omnia, latinitate uel iam olim, uel nunc recens à uiris doctissimis donata . . . Item Io. Lodouici Viuis Valentini, de libris Aristotelicis censura . . . Ad haec de uita Aristotelis, deq; genere philosophiae, ac scriptis eiusdem, commentatio doctissima, per Philippum Melanchthonem. Basel, [J. Oporinus], 1538. 2v. in 1. Fol.
10. Aristotelis Stagiritae tripartitae philosophiae opera omnia absolutissima, ex optimis quibusque, maximè nouis interpretibus collecta . . . ac denique in suum uerum & naturalem ordinem digesta . . . *Edited by Celio Secondo Curione.* Basel, J. Hervagius, 1563. 12p.l., 620 cols., 4 l., 516 cols., 5 l., 1248 cols., 4 l., 256 cols., 33 l. diags. Fol.

11. Aristotelis omnia quae extant Opera. Selectis translationibus, collatisq; cum graecis emendatissimis, ac vetustissimis exemplaribus, illustrata, pr[ae]stantissimorumq; [a]etatis nostr[ae] Philosophorum industria diligentissime recognita . . . *Includes commentaries by Averroes, Levi ben Gershon, Marco Antonio Zimara, Bernardino Tomitano, and Michael Psellus.* Venice, Junta (1573–) 1575. 11v. in 14. 8vo.

The general title page is found in the index which is the whole of vol. 11; vols. 1–6 and 8 are dated 1574, vols. 7 and 9 are dated 1573. Complete contents are listed in *Deutscher Gesamtkatalog* 6:5973.

12. Aristotelis Opera, quae extant omnia, breui paraphrasi, ac litterae perpetuò inhaerente explanatione illustrata a P. Sylvestro Mauro Societatis Iesu . . . Rome, A. Bernabo, 1668. 6v. 8vo.  
Backer-Sommervogel V, 767.

## SELECTED WORKS

### a. Greek

13. Aristotelis, et Xenophontis Ethica, Politica, & Oeconomica. Cum alijs aliquot ex Plutarcho, Proclo, & Alexandro Aphrodisiensi Cōmentationibus. Basel, Johann Walder, [ca. 1535]. 7p.l., 606p. 8vo.

Contents. Aristotle: Ethica Nicomachea; Magna Moralia; Politica; Oeconomica.—Proclus Diadochus: In Platonis rem publicam commentarii (on Book IV only).—Plutarch: Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus.—Xenophon: De republica Lacadaemoniorum; De republica Athiensium (part of Book I only, with other text added); Oeconomicus.—Alexander of Aphrodisias: Quod virtus non sufficiat ad beatitudinem (part of his De Anima, Book II; see *Supplementum Aristotelicum*, Berlin, 1887, II, pt. 1, pp. 159–168).

14. Ἀριστοτέλους Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως, βιβλία Θ. Περὶ Οὐρανοῦ Δ . . . Aristotelis De Physica auscultatiōe, lib. 8. De Coelo 4 . . . Ad exemplaris fidem, quod postremum Lutetiae excusum est, emendati. Edited by Andreas Wechel. Frankfurt, Andreas Wechel, 1577. 180, 99, 52 (i.e. 54), [1], 115, 24, 69, 92p. 4to.

Contents: Physica; De Coelo; De Generatione et Corruptione; Meteorologica; De Mundo; De Anima; Parva Naturalia.

*Selected works, Frankfurt, 1585, edited by Friedrich Sylburg. This was issued separately but is vol. 7 of no. 5 in the University's collection.*

*Selected works, Frankfurt, 1587, edited by Friedrich Sylburg. This was issued separately but is vol. 10 of no. 5.*

*Selected works, Frankfurt, 1596, edited by Friedrich Sylburg. This was issued separately but is vol. 8 of no. 5.*

### b. Latin

15. Expositiones textua/les dubio[rum] atq[ue] luculentissime explanatōes in libros de Celo [et] mūdo. Gene/ratione [et] corruptiōe.

Metherologo[rum]. ac Paruo[rum] naturaliū Aristotelis. va/rijs ex ingenijs. primū tñ [et] potissime ex p[ro]batissimis cōmentarijs angelici do/ctoris Thome Aq[ui]natis [com]pendiario sermone transsumpte . . . Cologne, H. Quentell, [ca. 1500] 1p.l., xlix, xxxv, xlviii numb. l., 1 l., xxxix (i.e. xlj), xxiiij, x numb. l., 7 l. diags. Fol.

Colophon: Expositio q[ua]tuor libro[rum] Metherologo[rum] Aris./iuxta cōmētatōem doctoris sancti finit feliciter. Et/in Officina Quentell Colonie nitidissime ipressa.

Contents as in GW 2342. Not in GW, Hain, Copinger, Reichling, BMC, Voulliéme (K), or Stillwell.

16. Quae in hoc uolumine continentur Vitae Aristotelis ex Plutarcho & ex Diogene Laertio. Praedicabilia prophyrrii [sic]. Praedicamenta Aristotelis. Sex principia Giberti poretani interp[re]te Hermolao barbaro. Libri duo perihierminias Arist. Liber priorum arist. Libri duo posteriorum arist. Physicorum libri octo. Metaphisicae libri duodecim. De coelo & mundo libri tres. De anima libri tres. Aethicorū libri decem interprete Io. Argiropilo. Politicorum libri octo. Economicorum liber unus. Libellus de moribus interprete Leonardo aretino. Magnorum moralium Georgio ualla interprete . . . Venice, P. Pincius, 1505. [713]p. diags. Fol.

The "Vitae Aristotelis" do not appear in this volume. The "Libellus de moribus" is actually Leonardo Bruni Aretino's *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae* (sec F. Tocco in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, VI <1893>, 158).

17. Habentur hoc uolumine haec Theodoro Gaza interprete. Aristotelis de natura animalium. lib. ix. Eiusdem de partibus animalium. lib. iiii. Eiusdem de generatione animalium. lib. v. Theophrasti de historia [sic] plantarum. lib. ix. Et decimi principium duntaxat. Eiusdem de causis plantarum. lib. vi. Aristotelis problemata in duas dequadragenta sectiones . . . Alexādri Aphrodisiensis p[ro]blemata duobus libris nōnunquā ante ipressa eodē Theodoro itēp[re]te . . . Venice, Aldus and Asulanus, 1513. 12p.l., 273 numb. l., 17 l. Fol.

Renouard, *Aldus*, p. 65.

18. Ex Physiologia Aristotelis, libri duodetriginta. 1 De auscultatione naturali octo, 2 De coelo quatuor, 5 De anima tres, Ioanne Argyropylo interprete. 3 De generatione & corruptione duo, 4 Meteorologicorum quatuor, 6 De sensu & sensili vnus . . . Francisco Vatablo interprete. Quibus omnibus, antiqua tralatio tricenos libros continēs, ad Graecum per eundem Vatablum recognita: columnatim respōdet . . . Paris, H. Stephanus, 1518. 336 numb. l., 1 l. diags. Fol.

Includes all parts of the *Parva Naturalia*. The "antiqua tralatio" is chiefly the work of Guillelmus of Moerbeke.

19. . . . Summa philosophie naturalis prestantissimi viri Magistri Pauli Veneti . . . cum textu a Ioanne Argyropylo e greco in



latinum conuerso. Adiecta sunt etiam ex Columella capita aliquot de Minimo ac Maximo naturali. Additas insuper figuras ceu (vt dicunt) historias reperies . . . Naturalis Auscultationis Libri principaliores electi ex Aristotele. De physico auditu octo. De celo et mundo quatuor. De generatione et corruptione duo. Meteorologorum quatuor. De anima tres. Lyons, S. Vincentius, 1525. 6p.l., clxxvj, lxxxiiij numb. l. diagsr. 4to.

At head of title: "Physica Pauli Veneti Cum textu Argiropyli." This work was published by Scotus in Venice in 1503 with Paulus de Genestano as editor; it was also published by Badius in Paris in 1521 with Gerardus Columella as editor. Included is a commentary on the *Metaphysica* without the text.

20. Operum Aristotelis tomus secundus Physiologiam eius totam complectens, vnà cum argumentis in libros singulos . . . Item, Problematum sectiones triginta octo. *Edited by Hieronymus Gemusaeus; translations are by Joannes Argyropoulos, Petrus Aleconius, and Theodorus Gaza.* Basel, J. Oporinus, 1548. vol. 2 (of 3). diagsr. Fol.

Vols. 1 and 3 are not in the University's collection. Contents: *Physica*; *De Coelo*; *De Generatione et Corruptione*; *Meteorologica*; *De Anima*; *Parua Naturalia*; *Historia Animalium*; *De Partibus Animalium*; *De Generatione Animalium*; *Problemata*. The translations are by Joannes Argyropoulos, Petrus Aleconius, and Theodorus Gaza.

21. . . . Aristotelis Stagiritae libri Moralem totam Philosophiam complectentes, cum Auerrois Cordubensis in Moralia Nicomachia expositione, et in Platonis libros De Republica paraphrasi . . . *Edited by Joannes Baptista Bagolinus.* Venice, Junta, 1550. 10p.l., 192 numb. l. diagsr. Fol.

At head of title: "Tertium volumen." This is vol. 3 of the 11 volumes of the complete works published at Venice, 1550-1552; the University's collection contains only this volume and vol. 2 (no. 226).

Contents: *Ethica Nicomachea*; *Magna Moralia*; *De Moribus ad Eudemum*; *Politica*; *Oeconomica*; *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*. Leonardo Bruni Aretino: *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae*.

22. Aristotelis Stagiritae Philosophorum Principis Philosophiae Naturalis libri omnes, Ioanne Argyropylo Byzantio, et Francisco Vatablo interpretibus . . . Adiecta sunt argumenta cum in singulos libros ex praecipuis Graecorum commentarijs desumpta, tum etiam in singula vnus cuiusq[ue] libri capita. Cologne, heirs of Arnold Birckmann, 1580. 2v. in 1. 4to.

The "argumenta" are taken from Simplicius of Cilicia, Joannes Philoponus, and Alexander of Aphrodisias. Contents: Vol. 1: *Physica*; *De Coelo*.—Vol. 2: *De Generatione et Corruptione*; *Meteorologica*; *De Anima*; *Parua Naturalia*.

## SELECTIONS

23. Thesauri Aristotelis Stagiritae libri XIII. Commentariis illustrati. In quibus cum vniuersae philosophiae praeceptiones, tum rerum variarum Problemata, & historiae explicantur. Autore Petro Saint-fleur Monspeliensi . . . Paris, Martin Le Jeune, 1562. 16p.l., 463 numb. l. 16mo.



## SUMMARIES and PARAPHRASES

### a. Latin

24. Textus octo Phisicorū Aristotelis, necnō libro[rum] naturalium, cū sex eiusdē Metaphisices, s[ecundu]m traditionē seu abbreviationē. M. Thome Bricot philosophi, ac Theologi p[ro]fundissimi. Nup[er] ab Orontio Fine Delphinatē vigili cura reuisus et emēdatus. Marginarijsq[ue] adnotamētis, ac figuris iuxta singulorum exigentiam decoratus. Paris, Reginald Chaudiere, 1517. diagrs., illus. 8vo. Colophon: "Impressum fuit hoc Philosophicū opus Parisijs Apud Michaelē Lesclencher Typographum probatissimū. Sumptibus probi Bibliopole Reginaldi Chaudiere . . . Contents: Physica; De Generatione et Corruptione. Meteorologica; De Anima; Parva Naturalia; Metaphysica.
25. Totius naturalis philosophiae Aristotelis paraphrases per Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem, recognitae iam, & ab infinitis, quibus scatebant mendis, repurgatae: & scholijs doctissimi uiri Iudoci Clichthouei illustratae: & hoc digestae ordine . . . Introductio metaphysica. Dialogi quatuor ad metaphysicorum intelligentiam introductorij. Freiburg, Joannes Faber Emmeus, 1540. 6p.l., CCLXXII numb. l. Fol.  
This work includes paraphrases of the Physica, De Generatione et Corruptione, De Coelo, Meteorologica, De Anima, and Parva Naturalia, but not of the Metaphysica.
26. Themistij Peripatetici lucidissimi Paraphrasis in Aristotelis Posteriora, & Physica. In libros item de Anima, Memoria et Reminiscencia, Somno et Vigilia, Insomnijs, & Diuinatione per Somnum. Hermolao Barbaro . . . Interprete . . . Additoq; Indice, necnon contradictionibus ac solutionibus Marci Antonij Zimarrae in dictis eiusdem Themistij, quae oīa a studiosis desiderabantur. Venice, H. Scotus, 1542. 8p.l., 363p. Fol.
27. Epitome Philosophiae Naturalis, ex Aristotelis summi Philosophi libris ita excerpta, ut eorum capita breuiter & dilucidē explicet . . . per Georgium Lieblerum . . . Basel, J. Oporinus, 1566. 12p.l., 302, [24] p. diagrs. 8vo.  
Contents: Physica; De Coelo; De Generatione et Corruptione; Meteorologica; De Anima; Parva Naturalia.

### b. Italian

28. Somma della Filosofia d'Aristotele, e prima della Dialettica. Raccolta da M. Lodouico Dolce . . . Venice, "appresso Gio. Battista, & Marchiò Sessa, & fratelli," [1565?]. 4p.l., 132, 104 numb. l., 3 l. diagrs. 8vo.  
Each of the three parts has a special title page but only part 3 has separate signatures and foliation.  
Contents: Organon; Ethica Nicomachea; Politica; Oeconomica; Physica; De Coelo; De Generatione et Corruptione; De Meteorologica; De Anima.

(To be continued)

# Association Copies of John Morgan's Dissertation in the University Library

John Morgan (1735–1789) is famous as the founder of the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania, as one of the early and influential physicians of Philadelphia, and well known for his occasionally turbulent career. After his graduation from the University of Pennsylvania he went to London, and thence to Edinburgh, where he received his M.D., having presented and published a dissertation “On the Formation of Pus.” The little book is not rare; there are copies in the American Philosophical Society Library, the College of Physicians, the Library Company, the Pennsylvania Hospital Library and the University of Pennsylvania Library, counting Philadelphia institutions only. Its exact title reads as follows:

ΠΤΟΠΟΙΕΣΙΣ,/SIVE/TENTAMEN MEDICUM/DE/PURIS  
CONFECTIONE:/ . . ./EDINBURG:/CUM TYPIS  
ACADEMICIS/M,DCC/LXIII.

Inserted in the middle of the first signature is a folded printed dedication to Thomas Penn, Richard Penn, Jacob Hamilton, John Penn and other officials of the Province, and to various members of the academic senate of this University.

It may be of some interest to record the three copies in the University of Pennsylvania Library. Copy 1 contains a rather formal and elaborate dedication to Thomas Penn (1702–1775), proprietor of Pennsylvania and son of William Penn, as shown in the reproduction. It came to the Library as a gift of Dr. William Pepper.

Copy 2 bears a very similar dedication to Samuel Powel (1739–1793), a classmate of Morgan at the College of Philadelphia, later twice the mayor of Philadelphia (1775 and 1789), and a trustee of the University (1773 until his death). Samuel Powel was the uncle of John Hare, another famous Pennsylvanian. This copy is the gift of Dr. George W. Norris.

Copy 3 has a much less formal but perhaps even more interesting dedication. It was presented by John Morgan to Philip Syng (1703–1789), famous silversmith, associate of Benjamin Franklin, Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, City Treasurer of Philadelphia, and grandfather of the famous surgeon, Philip Syng Physick. This copy, too, formerly belonged to Provost Pepper.

R. H.

Viro præclaro  
Thomæ Penn Armigero,  
Provincia Pennsylvania,  
nec non

Comitatum novi castelli, Cantii et Septentrionis  
ad Fluvium Delaware,

Proprietario dignissimo,  
Benevolentia conspicuo,  
bonarum Artium

Patrono insigni,  
Amico .uo .semper colendo,  
hunc Libellum  
humillime offert

Auctor.

# Library Notes

## *Exhibitions*

In celebration of the 250th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin and of the early years of the University, an exhibition of Franklin and University documents was held during January 1956. Displays included the original deed to the property for the Charity School, the diploma of a graduate of the first class, lottery tickets for the College, and early correspondence showing Franklin's close association with the University.

An exhibition of books and manuscripts in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the death of Heinrich Heine was held during February. The Library is grateful to Mr. Seymour Adelman for his contributions, and for his cooperation in arranging the display.

An exhibit of first editions of John Dryden's poetry and drama was on view in the Rare Book Collection in March.

Books and manuscripts from the Rare Book Collection illustrating the early history of the University Hospital were on exhibit during the month of May in the Hospital. Early lecture notes, textbooks, and manuscripts of Benjamin Rush, John Morgan, and Philip Syng Physick were included.

N. M. W.

## *Gifts*

The University Library received, late in 1955, another important gift from Mr. Boies Penrose:

APULEIUS, LUCIUS, *Opera*, Vincenza, Rego di ca Zeno [Henricus de Sancto Urso], 1488. Stillwell A834.

ETYMOLOGIKON MEGA, Venice, Zacharias Callierges for Nicolaus Blasius, 1499. Stillwell E85.

GUILLERMUS PARISIENSIS, *Postilla*, [Germany, Printer of the Lotharius, 1474]. Stillwell G582.

NICOLAUS DE AUSMO, *Supplementum Summae Pisanellae*, Reutlingen, [Michael Greyff], 1482. Stillwell N42.

PIUS II, Pope, *Decadum Blondi Epitome*, Basle, Johann Bebel, 1533.

The Apuleius is said to have belonged to the famed humanist Cardinal Pietro Bembo; the *Etymologikon*, rightly praised for the beauty of its presswork, was printed by the Cretan aristocrat Callierges; Guillermus Parisiensis' *Postilla* is the only copy in the United States, according to Stillwell.

L. R.

Mr. Lammont du Pont Copeland gave an important sixteenth-century manuscript on explosives and gunnery to the Edgar Fahs Smith Collection. It is a folio volume of 235 leaves, illustrated with 34 water-color drawings, and dated 1584. The manuscript is probably the outstanding item in the pyrotechnical section of the Edgar Fahs Smith Collection.

R. H.

Dr. William L. Peltz, Assistant Professor of Psychiatry in the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania has presented over one hundred eighteenth- and nineteenth-century volumes pertaining to the development of medicine. These books were part of the personal library of Dr. Peltz's great-grandfather, Thomas Hun of Albany, N. Y. In 1820, Thomas Hun went as a young medical student to Paris and studied there under François Broussais and other eminent medical professors. During his stay in Paris and in other medical centers of Europe, he began this collection of books, many of them written by his teachers. Dr. Hun returned to America after a few years and spent a long and successful career as an alienist and neurologist practicing and teaching at the Albany Medical College. Many of the books, now presented to the University, bear interesting inscriptions and marginalia. To be especially mentioned among the authors are François Broussais (1772-1838), founder of "physiological medicine," Pierre Louis (1787-1854), co-author with Chomel of the celebrated *Recherches anatomiques*, and Benjamin Rush (1745-1813).

N. M. W.

Two unusual manuscript gifts have been made to the Library by Mr. Seymour Adelman. One is an Elizabethan commonplace book, *circa* 1585-1610, in its original vellum binding. Written in Latin and English in a handsome script, the book was evidently made by a lawyer or a public official since the contents are principally concerned with laws and legal precedents. There are also interesting notes on rules of grammar and other miscellaneous notations.

The other gift is a group of 19 letters written by a Union soldier in 1861-1862. Corporal George W. Capeling of Stockbridge, New York, enlisted in the 1st New York Volunteer Artillery at the age of 21. The perceptive and detailed letters to his family describe his sight-seeing experiences in Washington, D. C., his reaction to the scenery of the Shenandoah Valley and his day by day struggles for food and shelter. He mentions Lincoln, McClellan, and Stonewall Jackson among other leaders in the Civil War and describes with interesting detail the appearance of the engine house at Harper's Ferry where John Brown had been taken prisoner in 1859. The young soldier died on July 26, 1862, of typhoid fever. Included among the letters is the last one from his family who were unaware of his death when it was written.

N. M. W.

*A Definitive Edition of the Works of Walt Whitman*

Dr. Sculley Bradley, Vice-Provost of the University, is to be the editor-in-chief of a forth-coming publication of the definitive collected works of Walt Whitman, published by the New York University Press. The edition will include a variorum *Leaves of Grass*, prose writings, and selected correspondence. The Library of the University will be Dr. Bradley's editorial headquarters, and the Walt Whitman Collection will be used extensively in the preparation of the edition.

*Announcement*

Jesse Cobb Mills, who has succeeded Thomas R. Adams as Secretary of the Friends, was born in East Tennessee. He graduated from Harvard College in 1942 and went immediately to work for William Iselin & Co., factors, New York. However, he was soon called into the Armed Services and remained there for nearly four years. In January, 1947, he was appointed instructor in English at the University of Tennessee. While teaching there, he worked off the M.A. degree and continued as instructor in English until 1951, when he entered the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania for work toward the doctorate. Before he came to this Library he was an assistant instructor in English at this University. His library experience includes Widener Library at Harvard, the Hoskins Library at the University of Tennessee, and the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.













